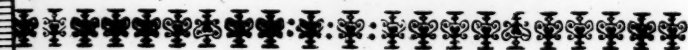




Imprimatur,

Æd. Sab.
16. 1662.

Geo. Stradling. S.T.P. Rev.
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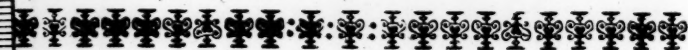
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Toleration DISCUSS'D.

By *ROGER L'ESTRANGE.*

*Ferre quam Sortem patiuntur Omnes,
Nemo recuset.*

Sen. Troas.



L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Brome* at the Gun in
Ivie-Lane, 1663.

DISCLOSURE
TOLSON

BY

THE

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.



The Præface.

I*AM not so vain, as to expect, that any Man will be either the Better, or the Wiser, for what I write; and yet, when I consider, that God Himself, is pleas'd with Free-will Offerings (though ne're the Richer for them) I make That Thought my Measure: and how Incapable-soever of Doing the Publique a Service, I think my self; yet Honestly Oblig'd to Offer it a Duty; and This poor Little is My All.*

The Subject I Treat of, is, TOLERATION; wherein (with Modesty) I have not ventur'd beyond my Reach: For, upon the Ventilation of the Question, It seems to mee, that it is one of the Hardest Things in the World, for the Non-conformists to say What

The Preface.

They would have; and one of the *Easiest* (on the other side) to Overthrow. All they can say. To give the Reader a Clear, Distinct, and Impartial Prospect of the Matter, I have layd the Debate before him in Colloquy; and under the Names of CONFORMITY, ZEAL, and SCRUPLE, are Represented the Three Grand Partyes, ORTHODOX, PRESBYTERIAN, and INDEPENDENT. That which first put mee upon this Theme, was the Great and Irregular Earnestness, that was not long since Employ'd, toward the Procurement of a Toleration. Concerning which, I found my self at a Double Loss: First, touching the Proposition it self; and Secondly, about the Manner of Promoting it.

As to the Former, Me'thought Toleration in Gross, was of something a Mysterious Latitude; but upon the taking it in pieces, I perceive, that nothing can be plainer than the Meaning of it; and the Truth is, It means [not to be understood] that they may be sure to make something on't, whether it Hits or Misses. The One way, they may do what they please; and the Other way, there's a Ground for a Compleynt. A

The Preface.

A Second thing that surpriz'd me not a little, was the Manner of Introducing it; for, it was Usher'd in by All the Querulous wayes of Complaynt and Aggravation, Imaginable: Which I presume, they would have forborn, had they but been Acquainted with the Justices Opinions (in the 2^d of King James) upon that very Point.

It was demanded by Chancellor Crooks Reports
Pars 2. Pa. 37.
Ellesmere, Whether it were an Offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved, who framed Petitions, and Collected a Multitude of Hands thereto, to Prefer to the King, in a Publique Cause, as the Puritans had done, with an Intimation to the King, That if He Deny'd Their Suit, many Thousands of his Subjects would be Discontented? Where to all the Justices Answer'd, That it was an Offence Finable at Discretion, and very near to Treason and Felony, in the Punishment, For they Tended to the
Raising

The Preface.

Raising of Sedition, Rebellion, and Discontent among the People.

Upon the Rejection of their Suit, the Business was Hush'd, till of Late; When the Revival of their Pretensions, together with the Dispersing of divers Virulent Libells, mov'd me to Gather up my Thoughts, which I here submit to the Fate of my other Weaknesses. I might say Twenty things, to Excuse the slips of my Distracted Leisures; but I shall rather Recommend what's worth the Reading, than Trifle away a Complement for that which is not.

I caus'd a Little Tract lately to be Re-printed, under the Title of Presbytery Display'd: Who was the Author of it, I know not; but it is Certainly, a Judicious, and well-Order'd Draught of Their Government; and may serve to stop Any Presbyterian's Mouth that Opens for a Toleration, which how Formidable-soever it may Appear in a Petition, is Certainly a most Pitifull Thing in an Argument.

The Contents are to be found at the End of the Book.

Toleration



Toleration Discuss'd:

INTRODUCTION.

ZEAL and CONFORMITY,

And to Them

SCRUPLE.

Zeal.



Ood morrow to ye, Conformity.

*Conform. Welcome, Zeal. Is this
your Eight a clock? As sure as I live,
A Presbyterian forfeits his Charter that
keeps touch with a Son of the Church.*

Zeal. 'Tis Late I Confess, but I could

not possibly get away sooner.

Conf. And I beseech ye (if a body may ask) what mighty business hinder'd ye?

Zeal. Guess.

Conf. Why then, my Head to a Nut-shell, thou hast either been Breathing thy Girdles at some Prohibited Lecture; or getting Hands against the Act for Uniformity. Go to, speak Truth, What made You and your Ladies so early abroad this Morning? (for I saw ye at the Back-gate as soon as ye could well find the way to it)

1692

B

Zeal.

Toleration Discus'd.

Zeal. Suppose I should tell ye, that we went to a Religious Meeting.

Conf. Then would I tell you again that 'tis well your Wife is My Kinswoman.

Ze. What's your Conceit for That ?

Conf. I should suspect she might be tempted Else to make your Head ake: For Those Assemblies which you call Religious Meetings; What are they, but close Appointments, where the Men meet to Cuckold Authority: and the Women (if they please) to do as much for their Husbands? Without Fooling, I look upon Conventicling, but as a Graver kind of Catter-wauling; and in fine, 'Tis not good to wont our selves to stolt pleasures.

Ze. You will be Bitter.

Conf. No no, I will not. Raillery apart, Your Wife's a very good Lads. But where have you been in Earnest?

Ze. To tell you the very Truth, I have been, with my Wife and my Daughter, to Joy Mr. Calamy of his Enlargement.

Conf. Bless me! Is he at Liberty then?

Ze. Yes, He is at Liberty. Doye Wonder at it?

Conf. No, not much. But, prethee why was he Clapt up?

Ze. For Preaching. Is not That Crime enough?

Conf. That's according as the Sermon is; For so as a man may order the Matter in a Pulpit, I think he may with a better Conscience Deliver Poyson in the Sacrament; for the One does but Destroy the Body, t'Other the Soul. This, poysons only the Congregation; That, the whole Kingdome.

Ze. I sent ye his Sermon last night, have ye overlookt it?

Conf. Yes: And I have weigh'd every Syllable in't.

Ze. Well, and How doye find it?

Conf. Only a Plague-plaister, that's made Publique for the Good of His Majesties Liege-People. Find it say ye? If ever I live to be King of Utopia, I'll hang him up that Prints the fellow on't within my Dominions.

Zeal.

Toleration Discus'd.

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Zeal. And what shall become of him that Preaches it, I beseech ye?

Conf. Perhaps I'll spare him for his Industry; for a Presbyterian that Preaches Sedition, do's but Labour in's Calling.

Ze. Come leave your Lasking, and tell me So'lerly; What hurt do you find in't?

Conf. That Hurt that brought the Late King to the Scaffold. And (in a word) which will unsettle the Best Establish'd Government in the world, with a very small Encouragement; That Hurt do I find in't.

Ze. Truly, My Eyes can discover no such Matter.

Conf. It may be you'll see better with my Spectacles. But where's your Brother-Scruple? He was not with you at Mr. Calamy's, I hope.

Ze. No, ye know Hee's of another way; I think he'll call upon me her: by and by; for we are to go into the City together about Business.

Conf. What ever the Matter is, I have a strange Itch to day to know your Business. Prethee is't a Secret?

Ze. 'Tis a Secret, to You, if you do n't know't. But what if I should Long as much now to know what 'tis that makes you so Inquisitive?

Conf. I'de save your Longing; Nay, and for fear of the worst, I'll prevent it. They say that you and your Brother are gathering Hands to a Petition against the Act for Uniformity.

Ze. Put case we were, what Then?

Conf. In the Day that You Offer That Petition, will I and My Friends prefer Another against the Act of Indempnity.

Ze. Sure ye do not take it for the same case. Have you read the Kings late Declaration of December 26?

Conf. Yes; and I see nothing There, but that His Majesty finds Himself Oblig'd to preserve Both Alike.

Ze. Do ye Remember what he Says concerning his Promises from Breda?

Conf. Oh very well; and I would advise you as a Friend not to mind Him too much of them: For first, His Ma-

Toleration Discus'd.

jeſty has done HIS PART in conſenting to the Mature and deliberate Offers of his Parliament.

2. You have (Many of ye) fail'd of Yours in not Complying with the Conditions of his Royal Mercy. But to the point I am to ſpeak with you about.

Ze. Do ſo, What is't? Look ye; Here's Scruple come already.

Conf. So much the Better, for I have ſomewhat to ſay to ye Both. Come, Scruple, I think I may thank your Brother here for This Viſit.

Scrup. Truly if it were Thankworthy, ſo you might; for I am only come to call him away about Buſineſs into the City.

Conf. Nay never talk of Buſineſs into the City before Dinner; for, to my Knowledge, the Afternoon is time enough for your Buſineſs.

Scrup. In Good Truth, we are Engag'd upon an Appointment.

Conf. I know ye are, and that's the Reaſon I deſir'd to ſpeak with your Brother this Morning. You Two are to be at Town-ditch this Morning, if it be poſſible; or however, ſometime to Day. Is't not ſo?

Ze. Pray'e where have You your Intelligence?

Conf. I have a certain Familiar that tells Tales out of School. Come, Come, Reſolve upon the Afternoon, 'Tis but Reprieving Biſhops a matter of two hours Longer.

Ze. Well, Since you'll have it ſo, it ſhall be ſo: but let me tell ye, your Devil deceives ye; for we have no Deſign at all upon Epiſcopacy.

Conf. Y Intend to Petition the Parliament; Do ye not?

Ze. It maybe we do.

Conf. In good time; and what's the Scope of your Petition?

Ze. That we may be left at Liberty to Worſhip God according to our Conſciences.

Conf. Have you well conſider'd what will be the Fruit of Granting that Liberty?

Ze. It will exalt the Kings Honour, Eſtabliſh the Peace of

Toleration *Difens'd.*

of the Nation, Promote all Honest Interests; and Satisfie all Good Men.

Conf. Make That Good, and ye shall have my Hand to your Petition.

Scrup. And if we do not make it Good, We'll Renounce our Claims.

Conf. Come Gentlemen, There's a Fire in my Study, and we have Two Hours good to Dinner. Let's make use of our Time.

SECT. I.

Liberty of Conscience Stated.

Conf. IF I do not mistake ye, my Masters, the Thing ye Contend for is a Toleration.

Scrup. It is so.

Ze. And that we may not be Enjoyn'd (upon a Penalty) to do that which we think we ought not to do.

Conf. Your Pardon, my Friend; That's not the Question, I do not Ask ye what ye would Not have, but what ye would: Not what y'are Against, but what y'are For. I know well enough that the Act for Uniformity displeases ye; but I would fain know when That's gon, what will Please ye, that we may not Destroy a Law to no purpose.

Ze. Allow us but a Freedom to Worship God, according to the Rule of his own word, and that Freedom shall content us.

Scrup. In short, the Thing we Desire is Liberty of Conscience.

Conf. Liberty of Conscience? What Mortal can pretend to take it from ye?

Ze. Do's not the Act for Uniformity Debar us of it?

Conf. Not at all; Your Actions indeed are Limited, but your Thoughts are Free; What do's This or That Garment, or Gesture Concern the Conscience?

Toleration Discus'd

Ze. *But if I believe it unlawfull to Worship Them, or So: Whatsoever is not of Faith, is sin:*

Conf. At this Rate, for ought that I know, ye may Believe it unlawfull to worship at all: For ye may as well Except to *every mode* which is *Not* commanded, as to *That* which *Is*. (But we are upon the Merits of the Cause, before we state the Question.) *Liberty of Conscience* (according to my Books) is a *Liberty of Judging*, not of *Acting*; but I perceive the Liberty which *You* claym, is a *Liberty of Practice*.

Ze. *No matter for the Word, so long as we Agree upon the Meaning.*

Conf. Nay, by your favour, *Zeal*, we are not as yet Agreed upon *Either*; for that which you seem to *Ask* in *One* sense, you Resolve to *Take* in *Another*: That is, ye *Ask* leave to *Think* what ye will, and ye *Take* leave to *Do* what ye will; so that the Liberty *You* demand, is rather Matter of *State*, then of *Religion*: And to Ask, that ye may govern your selves by your *own Consciences*, is the same Thing with Asking to be no longer govern'd by the *Kings Laws*.

Scrup. Cannot Liberty of Conscience then consist with Civil Obedience?

Conf. Yes, Liberty of *Conscience* may, but not Liberty of *Action*; If Liberty of *Conscience* will content ye, disclaim Liberty of *Practice*; But if ye must needs have Liberty of *Practice*, *Speak out*, and do not call it Liberty of *Conscience*.

Scrup. Give it what Name you please; The Liberty I Desire, is a Liberty towards God in Matters of Religion:

Conf. But what do ye mean by those Matters of Religion?

Zeal. Whatsoever has the Honour of God for it's Direct and Immediate End, *under which Head, may be comprised* [Ceremonies properly sacred and significant by Humane Institution] [Religious Mystical Habits] [Canonical Subscription,] [Holy-dayes] ---and in fine, *such Inventions of Worship as are not warranted by Gods Word.*

Conf.

Toleration Dismiss'd.

Conf. So that upon the whole Matter, The Liberty you Demand, is a Liberty of Practice, in such Matters of Religion, as have the Honour of God for their Direct and Immediate End. All which, in one word, amounts to a Toleration, and so much for the state of the Question.

The Non-conformists Demand.

SECT. II.

Universal Toleration unlawfull.

Conf. IF a Toleration you would have, it must be either Absolute, and Generall, or Limited and Partial.

Scrup. Let it be Generall then, for doubtless if a Man be Oblig'd to Worship, it supposes him Free to do't in such Manner as he finds himself Bound to do't.

Conf. This Argument of yours takes in Pagans, as well as Christians, for They have Consciences as well as Wee, and They are convinc'd that there is a God, and that That God ought to be Worship'd; so that to grant a General License, is to Tolerate Paganisme.

Zeal. But Paganisme is not within the Pale of the Question.

Conf. Why then no more is Conscience; for if you exclude Pagans, upon what Accompt is't? They perswade Themselves they are in the Right, You think them in the Wrong, and because of the Error of Their Way, deny them the Exercise of their Opinions; so that your Exception lyes to the Error, not to the Conscience.

Scrup. But their Consciences are Erroneous.

Conf. They are so, if You may be Judges of Them, and so are Yours too, when You come to be judg'd by Us. Now tell me, What Right have You to be Judges in your own Case, any more then They in Theirs?

Ze. We have a Law to judge our selves by.

Conf. And, They, even without a Law, do by Nature the things contained in the Law, and are a Law to Themselves.

But

Toleration Dissent

But to look nearer Home, 'Tis it seems among *Christians* only, that you would have a *General Toleration*; and That in my opinion helps ye not much; for to uphold your Claim, you must either maintain that there are no *Erroneous Consciences* among *Christians*, or that *Error of Conscience* is no *Sin*, or else that *Sin* may be *Tolerated*.

Scrup. That there are *Erroneous Consciences*, and that *sin* is not to be *Tolerated*, I Grant ye; but I do not take every *Error of Conscience* to be a *sin* (understand me, of *Consciences* labouring under an *Invincible Ignorance*.)

Conf. 'Tis very true, the *Formality of sin* is the *Obliviousness of the Will*; but *sin*, *Materially* consider'd, is the *Transgression of the Divine Law*: and *Conscience* it self becomes *sinfull*, when it dictates against That *Law*.

Scrup. Can there be any *sin* without *Consent*? or any *Consent* without *Knowledge*? or any *Knowledge* in a *Case* of *Invincible Ignorance*? The *Transgression of the Law* implies the *Knowledge of it*, or at least the *Possibility of knowing it*; without which, it has not the *Nature of a Law*, as to mee. { The *Conditions* *Requisite* to a *Rule*, are *These*, it must be *Certain*; and it must be *Known*: If it be not *Certain*, 'tis no *Rule*; if it be not *Known*, 'tis no *Rule* to *Us*.] I had not known *sin* (says the *Apostle*) but by the *Law*; and in another place, [Where there is no *Law*, there is no *Transgression*:] From whence the *Deduction* is clear, that *sin* is not barely the *Transgression of a Law*, but the *Transgression of a known Law*; the *Inconformity of the Will to the Understanding*.

Conf. The *Perverseness of the Will* being a *Sin*, does not hinder the *Enormity of the Judgment* to be so too, [Until the *Law* (says your own *St. Paul*) *sin* was in the *World*, but *sin* is not imputed when there is no *Law*.] Briefly; The *Word of God* is the *Rule of Truth*, and All *Disproportion to That Rule* is *Error*; *God's Revealed Will* is the *Measure of Righteousness*, and all *Disproportion to That Measure* is *sin*. Now the *Question* is not, Whether *Imputed* or not, but whether a *Sin* or no? and you cannot make *Error of Conscience* to be no *Sin*, without making the *Word of God* to be no *Rule*.

Scrup.

Laud against
Fisher. p. 197.

Rom. 7. 7.

Rom. 4. 15.

Rom. 5. 13.

Scrup. *I do not deny, but it is a sin as to the Law; but it is None as to the Person: It is none constructively, with Him that accepts the Will for the Deed.*

Conf. Can you imagine, that any Condition in the Delinquent can operate upon the Force, and Equity of the Law? Because God spares the Offender, shall Man therefore Tolerate the Offence? David was Pronounc'd a Man after God's own Heart; shall Authority therefore grant a License to Murther and Adultery?

Scrup. *What's David's Case to Ours? You Instance in Sins of Presumption, and the Question is touching Sins of Ignorance.*

Conf. Your Patience, I beseech you: It may be Ignorance in him that Commits the sin, and yet Presumption in him that Suffers it: You cannot comprehend it, perhaps; but the Magistrate does; and wherein You Doubt, Authority is Certain: I could lead you now by a Thred, from the Toleration of all Opinions, to the Toleration of all Practices; and shew you the execrable Effects of giving way to the Impulses of Deluded Conscience; But what needs That, when Two words will dispatch This Controversie? In Pleading for All Opinions, you plead for all Heresies, and for the establishment of wickedness by a Law. Do ye think such a Toleration as This, either fit for You to Ask, or for Authority to Grant?

Ze. *But is it not Pity, (considering our Duty is Obedience, and not Wisdom) that a Good man should be punished for not being a Wise Man?*

Conf. And do not you think we should have fine work, if a State were bound to make no Provision against Crafty Knaves, for fear of Dis-obliging Honest Fools: You'll set no Trapps for Foxes, for fear of catching your Lambs; and Hunt no Wolves for fear some of your Curses should stumble upon a Sheep. In short, the Honest will Obey Good Laws, and let not the Unwise pretend to Mend them. As to the sparing of the Man, (even where 'twere Impious to give Quarter to the Opinion) I wish it could be done; but how shall we separate the Errors from the

Toleration Discus'd.

Person; so as to make a General Law take notice of it? To Tolerate Both were *Irreligious*, and it seems to Mee *Impossible* to sever them. If you your self now can either prove the Former to be *Lawfull*, (that is, to do evil, that Good may come of it) or the Latter to be *Practicable*, I'll agree with you For a General Toleration: If otherwise, I hope you'll joyn with me, *Against* it.

Ze. The Truth is, I am not yet Resolv'd to *Burn* for This Opinion; but what do ye think of a Limited, or Partial Toleration?

Conf. I fear, you'll find That, as much too Narrow for your Conscience, as the other is too Wide: but Wee'll Try't however.

SECT. III.

2 Limited Toleration does not answer Liberty of Conscience.

Conf. **W**EE are already Agreed, That a Toleration of All Opinions, is a Toleration of all *Wickedness*, and consequently *Unlawfull*. Come now to your Limited, or Partial Toleration, which I take to be A Legal Grant of Freedom, or Immunity, to such or such a *Sett*, or *Way*, and to no Other. Will a Toleration of This Latitude content ye?

Scrup. I See no other Choyce.

Conf. Would ye have it Granted in favour of the Conscience that Desires it, or in Allowance of the Tolerated Opinion?

Scrup. With an Eye to Both; that Nothing, which is Grievous may be Impos'd on the One hand, nor any thing which is Unlawfull Tolerated on the Other.

Conf. But what if the Subject shall accomps that Imposition

Toleration Discus'd.

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sition Grievous which the *Magistrate* thinks *Necessary*? or That *Liberty* Conscientious which the *Magistrate* believes *Unlawful*? Whether of the Two shall *Over-rule*? If the *Subject*, Then is the *Magistrate* *Oblig'd* to *Tolerate* whatsoever the *Subject* shall think himself *Oblig'd* to *Do*; and This carries us back into a *General Toleration*; If the *Magistrate* *Over-rule*, (as certainly 'Tis his Right, for no man can be properly said to *Suffer*, what he has not a *Power* to *Hinder*) Your Plea of *Conscience*, is out of Doors.

Scrup. By your Leave, *Conformity*; I would not have Either of them Govern *Absolutely* and *Severally* in the Case; For if the *Magistrate* be left to Himself, He may either set up a *False Religion*, or *Suppress* the Right, at pleasure; and the People by Themselves, may as well *Mistake* as the *Magistrate*: whereas Together, the One Looks to the Other. But tell me, I beseech ye, would you have no *Toleration* at all?

Conf. Upon my word, *Scruple*; no man is a greater friend to *Toleration* than I am, if I could but hit upon such a Measure as agrees with *Piety*, and *Political Convenience*: with such a Model as would probably answer the End you seem to aim at: but to Dissolve a *Solemn Law* for the Satisfaction of some *Particulars*, and at last to leave the People more unsatisfi'd then ye found them, were a Course (I think) not very Suitable to the Ordinary Method either of Government, or of Discretion; and That I fear would be the Event of Satisfying your Desires in This Particular. Pray try your Skill, if you can contrive it otherwise; and say what 'tis would please ye.

Ze. An *Exemption* from the *Lash* of the *Act* of *Uniformity*.

Conf. Well! What's your Quarrel to't?

Ze. I think it a Great Cruelty to Confine a Multitude of Differing Judgments to the same Rule, and to punish a Conscientious People for those Disagreements which they can neither Reconcile, nor Relinquish.

Conf. Why do ye then Preb That Cruelty your Selves, which

Toleration Discus'd

which you Condemn in Others. For your *Limited Toleration* is an Act of *Uniformity* to Those that are Excluded. They that are taken *In* will possibly be well enough pleased; but you never think of Those that are left *Out*: whereas you are to Consider that They that are *Out*, have *Consciences* as well as those that are *In*; and Those that are *In*, have no more *Priviledge*, then They that are *Out*. So that, upon a fair view of the Matter, You can neither *Admit All*, nor *Leave Out Any*, without a Check either to your *Conscience* or to your *Argument*. For put Case, The King should Grant ye a *Limited Toleration*; would That Quiet ye?

Ze. Yes, beyond doubt it would.

Conf. Imagine it then, and your self One of the Rejected Party. Are not you as well, *Now*, without any *Toleration* at all; as you will be *Then* without the Benefit of it?

Scrup. To deal freely, I would not willingly be Excluded.

Conf. And is not That Every Mans Case as well as Yours? A *Limited Toleration* must Exclude *Some*; and why not *You*, as well as *Another*? What *Prerogative* have *You* above Your *Fellows*? Or why should not *All* be *Tolerated* as well as *Any*? They can no more Abandon *Their* *Opinions*, then *You* *Yours*, and *Your* waies are to *Them*, just the same *Grievances*, which (if ye may be credited) *Ours* are to *You*.

Scrup. But are not *Some* *Opinions* more *Tolerable* then Others? Do ye put no Difference betwixt Points *Fundamentally* Necessary, and but *Accidentally* so? Betwixt the very Basis of Christianity, and the *Superstructure*?

Conf. Ye persue a Shadow. Who shall define, Which are *Fundamentals*, and which not? If *Both* parties, (according to your former hint) There's only a *Confusion* of *Law*, and *Subjection*, without any Clear, or Certain Result. If the *Diffusive* Body of the People, your *Limited Dispensation*, runs into an *Indeterminable Liberty*. If the *Supreme Magistrate*, Your claim of *Conscience* falls to *Nothing*, so that, step where ye will, You'll Find no Footing upon This Bottom.

Now

Toleration Discuss'd.

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Now to the *Fundamentals* you speak of; bate but That
Grand Foundation of our Faith, that *Jesus Christ is come* XB.
in the Flesh; and that *Whosoever Confesses that Jesus Christ* 1 Joh. 4. 3.
is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and Hee in God. --- 15.

Abating (I say) That Radical Principle (which if we Dis-
believe, we are no longer Christians) there's scarce One
point that has not been subjected to a Controversie. In a
word, The Reason of your Proposal requires Either an
Universal Toleration, or *None at all*: unless you can find
out an Expedient to Oblige ~~All~~ by Gratifying Some. I do
not press This, as an Utter Enemy to all Indulgence;
but I would not have it Extorted by Importunity and Strug-
gling; nor Granted in such a Manner as to look like a
Composition then a Favour.* If You should ask me indeed
whether a Prince, upon Special Grace, and meer Motion,
may not Grant a Toleration of some certain Opinions; 'Tis
past Dispute, he May; But the Same Freedome granted
upon a Popular Claim, is quite Another thing, and nei-
ther Safe, nor Lawful.

Scrup. Pray'e make me understand the Difference.

Conf. 'Tis only This; If it be the Subject's Due, 'tis
none of the King's: so that the People are Supreme, the
One Way, and the Prince the Other. Now whether it be
either Safe for a Prince to submit his Regality to the Claims
of the People; or LAWFUL for him, to divest himself of
That Authority, wherewith God has Entrusted him; lay
This under your Pillow, and Advise upon't.

S E C T. IV.

*The Non-conformists Plea for TOLERA-
TION upon Reason of State.*

Conf. SInce you are not able to make out your Claim to a Toleration, from the Equity of the Thing; Nay, since it appears (on the Contrary) that all Indulgences of That Quality are totally Dependent upon the Will, and Judgment of the Magistrate; You should do well do Leave Complaining, as if the Government did ye an Injury, (where Effectually You have no Right at all) and rather labour fairly to possess the world, that you are a Sort of People to whom the King may with Honour and Safety extend a Bounty.

The Ordinary Inducements to Indulgence, are These Three. 1. *Reason of State*, wherein is propos'd either the gaining of an Advantage, or the Shunning of an Inconvenience. 2. *The Singular Merits of the Party*: and Here, Gratitude takes place. 3. *The Innocence, and Modesty, of their Practises and Opinions*: which is a strong Motive; when Particulars may be Oblig'd without any Hazard to the *Publique*. To Begin with the First.

What Reason of State can You now produce that may Move his Majesty to Grant the Non-Conformists a Toleration?

Scrup. If you had put the Contrary Question, I had Pos'd me: Are not the Non-Conformists the Kings Subjects? And what's a King without his People?

Conf. The Non-Conformists are, by Birth, and Obligation, the Kings Subjects, but they are not so in Practice, and Obedience. They renounce the Law, and in so doing, they Cast themselves out of the Pale of Subjection.

Ze. I suppose you will not Deny them however to be a Numerous Party, and some Experience you have had likewise

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of their Conduct, Unity, and Resolution; which Moves me to look upon his Majesty, as (in some Measure) under a Prudential Necessity of Obliging so Considerable an Interest.

Conf. So far am I from admitting any Political Necessity of Yielding, that, to My Judgment, the Necessity appears strong, and clear against it.

Ze. We'll waive the General Question, if You please, and speak to the Convenience of This Juncture.

Are not the Non-Conformists Numerous?

Conf. Upon the Poll, They are so; and More now too, then they were when His Majesty came In; and so long as they are Suffer'd, 'tis to be Expected they shall Encrease daily. But you say, They are Numerous: If they be, Consequently Dangerous; the Greater the Number is, the Greater is the Hazard; and Therefore, because they are Many Already, and will be More, if they be Suffer'd, they are not to be Tolerated.

Ze. But will not People be much more Peaceable, when they are Oblig'd, than when they are Persecuted?

Conf. Believe me, Matters are at an Ill pass, when the Prince lies at the Mercy of the People; and certainly the Multitude will be much Quieter without a Power to do Mischief, then with it. But why do ye say, Persecuted? They Persecute the Law, and then you cry the Law Persecutes Them. I would you'd deal frankly with me: What is (really) your Opinion of the Honesty of your Party?

Ze. I do seriously believe the Non-conformists to be an Honest, Conscientious Sort of People.

Conf. But they must be Knaves to make your Argument good: for, if they be Honest, They'll be Quiet without a Toleration. If they be Dishonest, They'll be Dangerous with it. Consider again; If there be any Hazard, wherein does it consist? not in the Multitude, but in the Confederacy. A Million of men without Agreement, are but as One Single Person. Now they must Consult, before they can Agree; and they must Agree before they can Consult;

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sult: so that, barely to hinder the *Assembling* of These Multitudes, Defeats the *Danger* of them. Whereas, on the *Other* side, To Permit *Separate Meetings*, is to *Tolerate* a *Combination*.

Ze. Right; but Those Meetings and Consultations are pass'd already; for sure the *Non-Conformists* have been long enough *Acquainted* to *Understand* one another.

Conf. So much the more Need to look after them; and the less cause to *Tolerate* them: And for their *Agreement* in a *General Dissaffection*; That signifies little, without the *Means* of joyning in a *Particular Plot*. Again; as 'tis an *Advantage* on the *One* side, that the *Faction* know *One* another; so is it an *Equal Advantage* on the *Other* side, that the *King* knows the *Faction*: which renders His Majesty at any time Master of it; when His Royal wisdom shall direct him to suppress the heads of it.

Ze. Mistake me not. I do not say 'tis likely they will be *Troublesome*, in respect of their *Judgments*; but that it is *Possible* for them to be so, in regard of their *Number*.

Conf. He that Fears all Possibilities, lives in a cold Sweat. But I beseech ye, Whether do You take to be the Greater Number? Those that singly wish to be Discharg'd from the Act of *Uniformity*; or Those that would have *no Law* at all? Those that are troubled because they may not *Worship* according to their *Phanſie*; or Those that are displeas'd because they cannot *Live* and *Rule*, according to their *Appetite*? The *Traitor* would have *One* Law discharg'd; The *Schismaticque* Another; The *Idolater* a Third; The *Sacrilegious* person a Fourth; The *Drunkard* a Fifth; The *Conventicler* a Sixth; The *Prophane Swearer* a Seventh; The *False-Swearer* an Eighth; The *Murtherer* a Ninth; The *Seducer* a Tenth: And in fine; not One of a Thousand, but had rather *Command*, then *Obe*y. Shall the King therefore Dissolve the Law, because there are so many Criminals? That were to raise an Argument against Authority, from the very Reason of its *Constitution*. Shall the People be left to do what they *List*, because a great many of them would do what they *should not*? Shall his Majesty

Majesty give up his *Government*, for fear of some Millions possibly in his *Dominions*, that had rather be *Kings* than *Subjects*. Less Forcible, beyond Question, is the Necessity of the *Kings* Granting a *Toleration*, than That of *Renouncing* His *Sovereignty*; for, doubtless, where there's One man that is truly *Scrupulous*, there are a Hundred *Avaritious*, *Ambitious*, and, in fine, *Irreligious* persons.

Zeal. I think we may better decide *This Question* from Experiment, and matter of *Fact*, than by *Speculative Reasonings*. Look back to the beginning of the *Late Warr*, and tell me; Do not you believe that there are more *Non-Conformists* Now, than there were *Then*?

Conf. Yes, I do verily believe that there are *Three*, Now, for *One*, *Then*.

Ze. Why then, the Odds are *Three to One* against you: for the *Third* part of *This* number, was *Then* the *Predominant Interest* of the *Nation*.

Conf. I could allow you even *Treble* That number too, and the Reason of my Assertion would yet bear it, upon the greater Odds of strength betwixt the *Faction* then, and now. As for Instance:

At the *Beginning* of the late *Warr*, they were *Masters* of the *Tower*, the *Navy*; of all considerable *Towns*, *Forts*, and *Magazines*: They had a great part of the *Crown*, and *Church-Revenues* under their *Command*, and *London* at their *Beck*; beside the *Plunder* of *Malignants*, and the bountiful *Contributions* of the well-affected. *Scotland* was already *Confederate* with them, in *One* *Rebellion*; and they had made sure of *Another* in *Ireland*, (by persecuting, and with-holding the only Person capable to keep them *Quiet*: the *Earl of Strafford*) which *Broyle* they further *Assisted*, by manifest *Opposals* of his Majesty's *Resolutions* to suppress it. [See the *Kings Speech* of De-Ex. Coll. P. 2: cem. 14. 1641. and the following *Petition* concerning the & 3. *same*] Finally; for the better *Countenance* of their *Usurpations*, They had drawn down the *Representative* of the *People* into a *Clofe-Committee*, and the *Arbitrary Votes* of this *Seditious Conventicle*, passed with the *Vulgar*, for the

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the Acts of a Regular, and Complete Authority. This was the Condition of the *Non-Conformists* Power Formerly, but (blessed be God) they are not at present so Formidable.

The Three Kingdoms are *Now* at Peace; and we have a Parliament that's no Friend to the Faction. The King is posselt of a considerable Guard, which his Royal Father wanted: and the sword is in the wrong hand for Their business. His Majesty is Master likewise of his Rights, both of Power, and Revenue; and his Capital-City stands Right in its Obedience. To all which may be added, that although *several Particulars of the Party are as Rich, as Pillage and Pardon can make them*; yet they want a Common Stock to carry on a Common Cause: the Thimbles, and the Bodkins fail; and the Comfortable In-comes of [a] Irish Adventures; [b] Moneys and Plate upon the Propositions; [c] confiscated Estates; [d] Twentieth Parts; and [e] weekly Assessments; and a hundred other Pecuniary Stratagems (for the Ease of the Subject) are Departed from them.

a Ex. Coll.

P. 84.

b P. 339.

c P. 609.

d P. 764.

e P. 392.

If it be so, that These people have none of Those Advantages *Now* remaining; by virtue whereof they did so much Mischief *before*; what Necessity can any Mortal Imagine of Tolerationg These Naked, and Supportless Creatures, for fear of Dis-obliging them?

Ze. Are they more Naked and Supportless, *Now*, than they were *before* the Long Parliament? Does it follow that they have no Power, because they do not Exercise it? Certainly, if they be more in Number *Now*, than they were *Then*, Those Abilities that Rais'd them Formerly, may Secure them at Present, from being thought Contemptible.

Conf. 'Tis true, before our Late Troubles they were as they are now (for matter of Power) and out of that Nothing they made themselves Considerable: yet still I cleave to my Opinion, that the same Abilities will not Now produce the same Effects; for the world will not be Twice Cousen'd with the same Trick; and as the Case stands, there is as little danger from their Conduct, as from their Number.

Ze.

Zeal. This is a little strange, me thinks, to Grant the Means, and Deny the End. The Two first Principles of Power (Men and Moneys) you have Allow'd them; and it is not for your Credit to say that These people want Conduct, by whom you your selves have been worsted. If you have found them Considerable upon Experience, do not make them so Dispicable in your Argument.

Conf. Have a Care, Friend: For the Men that Worsted us, were a sort of People, that voted down Bishops on the wrong side of the Parliament door; That Cry'd, *They* Ex. Coll. P. 533. P. 494. would have no more Porters-Lodge at White-Hall; and told his Sacred Majesty in a Publique Declaration [Aug. 8. 42.] that the Pretence that his Person was There in danger, was a Suggestion as false as the Father of Lies could Invent --- that Seiz'd the Tower, the Navy, the Kings Towns, Forts, Magazines, Friends and Revenues; that Levied war against, and Imprison'd his Sacred Person, Usurp'd his Sovereign Authority; Embrew'd their Hands in his Royal Bloud, and, in the very Pulpit, Animated and Avow'd the unexampled Murder. These were the Men that worsted us, and These are the People which you plead for, under the Mask of Non-Conformists.

Your Patience yet a little further. The Non-Conformists are Many, beyond Question, (for the whole seditious Party lurks under That Denomination) but so long as they are neither in Order, nor in Office, they are not valuable. They are *Wealthy* too; but so long as That Wealth lies in Particular Coffers, there's not much fear of it, as to the Publique. Now let them be as wise as you Imagine them, That Policy which over-threw the Late King, signifies nothing to the Hazzard of This: Nay more, That which was Then, Policy, would be Now, Direct Folly.

Ze. This is but Discourse: My opinion is, that if they had the same Will, and Purpose to do Mischief, which you suppose they have, they do not want Conduct to their Number, to make the Necessity of Complying with This Interest, to appear evident, past Contradiction.

Conf. Now Touching their Conduct. They must either do
D 2 the

Toleration Discuss'd.

the *same* thing over again, or steer *another* course : and their *Method* is too Notorious to succeed the *one* way, as their *Persons* are too well known to do any good the *Other*.

Scrp. *I do not well understand what you mean by their Method ; for Wisdom, I suppose, does not confine her self to any Certain and prescript manner of working ; but shapes the Method to the Occasion.*

Conf. I am neither totally *With* you, nor *Against* you, in This Poynt : For as in the Menage of Publique Affairs, there is much left to Habitual Prudence, and Discretion, without need of directing every little Circumstance, or Tracing every Line ; so are there certain General Rules ; certain Dispositive Means, which all wise men conclude to be of absolute Necessity to such certain Ends.

Scrup. *The Question in hand is This ; Whether the Non-conformists be not an Intelligent, as well as a Numerous and Wealthy Party ? and how far Reason of State may prevail for the Toleration of a sort of people in so many Respects considerable ? Pray speak to This.*

Conf. If they be very *Wise*, and very *Many*, they had need be very *Honest* too, there may be Danger else ; for if they be not *Honest*, 'tis *Unsafe*, and consequently *Imprudent* to Indulge them. I think, the best Measure both of their *Honesty*, and *Wisdom*, may be taken from the Rise, and Menage of the late Warr : Wherein, I must confess, there wanted neither Craft in the Packing of the Cards, nor Conduct in the Playing of them. But what if I should Ask you now, Who were the Prime Conductors in That Enterprize ? If you say, The Non-conformists ; then They are not *Honest* enough to be *Trusted* ; (would you have the King Gratifie the Murtherers of his Father ?) If you say *Otherwise* ; Then 'twas not *Their Conduct* that did the work, and they are not *Wise* enough to be *fear'd*. In short, (to give them their Due, and no More.) That which Destroy'd us *Then*, was the Conjuncture of the most Perfidious of Subjects, with the most Pious and Charitable of Princes : The King, *in fine*, was Ruin'd by his own Goodnesse.

First,

First, without the Pacification at *Bernick*, in 1639. the Rebellion had been blasted in the Bud; And Secondly, his Majesty's Signing of the Bill for the Perpetual Parliament, put the *English* in a capacity of seconding their *Scottish* Brethren. These were the Two Capital Concessions that Kill'd the Royal Interest; The latter whereof, his Majesty (of ever blessed Memory) reflects upon, as [No sin of His Will, though an Error of too Evil's Bar. P. 28. & 29. charitable a Judgement,] and confesses that, [He did not thereby intend to shut Himself out of doors, as some men had then Required Him.]

There was likewise a fatal concurrence of *Sedition* and *Popular Ignorance*, to facilitate the Design. Alas! the late King was oppress'd even by Those that thought they fought for him, before ever they knew what they did; and the folly of the *Common-Souldier* contributed no less to the General Fate, than the skill and malice of their Leaders. (Beside some unhappy *why-not's* and mistakes in the Kings Armies, which are not at all pertinent to our discourse.)

Ze. Admitting what you say, still it was some Degree of Conduct to Procure those Grants, and to Improve Those Means.

Conf. Alas! If *Judas* his Betraying his Master with a Kisse; If the Enflaming of the People by false, and scurrilous Investives against their Sovereign; -- If the Erecting of a Prerogative Conventicle by the force of Tumults, and then giving it the Name of a Parliament; -- If the calling of God to Attest the Sanction of Perjury and Treason; or if to Engage the People by a Sacramental Vow to Defend the King, and then Hang them up for Adhering to him; -- If This (I say) be Conduct: let No man presume to Dispute their Title to't. But if by Conduct, you intend a course of Honourable Wisdom, you'll hardly find any foot-steps of That Conduct, throughout the whole Transaction, Yet let this pass for Conduct, and let

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the men that Govern'd the Design, be allow'd for *Politicians*; still I maintain, that *This Party*, though end'd with the Wisdom of Angels, cannot in *This Juncture*; nor in *This Age*, pretend again to be *considerable*.

Ze. That's sooner said, then prov'd.

Conf. Truly, I think not much; in regard that both *Their Waves*, and *their Persons* are too well *Known*, to be either *Suffer'd*, or *Credited*.

In Order to the late Warr, the Party had Two Games to play; for they were to make an Interest both with the King, and with the People, wherein their Master-piece was shew'd impervailing with both King, and People, to Contribute to their own undoing; To which End, They first, Acquainted Themselves with his Majesties Dearest Inclinations; and Next, with the Niceties, and Distresses of his Government, and Fortune: of which Discovery they made such use, as Enabled Them to Overturn the Order both of Church and State, and to perfect their long-Projected Reformation: For the late King's *Predominant Affection* being *Piety*, and *Compassion*, and his most *Dangerous Distress* being want of *Money*, the *Politicks* of the Faction appear'd in nothing more, than in Working upon his Majesty's *Goodness*, and *Necessities*.

Their Practices upon the *People* were chiefly employ'd upon the Two Things, which of all Others they do the least understand, and the most furiously pursue, to wit, *Religion* and *Liberty*; wherein the Ministers were the Prime Instruments, and *Alabam* (in the words of the Excellent Lord Brook) was their Instructor.

Lord Brook,
Alabam, Pa. 12.

*Preach you with fiery tongue, distinguish Might;
Tyrants from Kings, duties in question bring
Fixt God and Man; where power infinite
Compar'd, makes finite power a scornfull thing.
Safely so craft may with the truth give light,
To fudge of Crowns without enammelling;
And bring contempt upon the Monarchs State;*

Where

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Where straight unhallowed power hath peoples hate.
Glance at Prerogatives Indefinite,
Tax Customs, Warrs, and Lawes all gathering;
Censure Kings fau'ts, their Spies, and Favourites,
Holiness hath a Priviledge to sting.
Men be not Wise; bitterness from zeal of spirit,
Is hardly Judg'd; the envy of a King
Makes People Like reproof of Majesty.
Where God seems great in Priests audacity——

And when mens minds thus tun'd, and tempted are
To change, with Arguments gainst present times,
Then Hope awakes, and man's Ambition climes.

This was the Artifice, by which the Faction skrew'd
Themselves formerly into an Interest; but alas, what would
the same Thing over again avail them now? when his Ma-
jesty ha's but to look behind him upon the sad Fate of
his Royal Father, to secure Himself against all Possibility
of Another Imposture. And for the *Multitude*, they must
be worse than Brutes, in case of any New Attempt, ever
to Engage against *This King*, upon any Man's Credit, that
had his Hand in the Death of the *Last*; so that we are
both *Wiser* and *Surer* at *Present*, then we were *Twenty*
years agoe, upon a double Accompt; *First*, the Calami-
ties of the *Last Warr* are still fresh in our Remembrance,
and I do not find the People generally so sanctifi'd by
their Experience, but they had rather lye still for their
Real Profit, then Fight it over again for the *Sound of Re-
ligion*. *Secondly*, We are pre-acquainted with the most
likely Instruments and Pretences of Raising any New
Troubles.

As for the *Unity* ye boast of, 'tis very true; that the
Non-conformists Agreed against the *Publique*, till they found
it impossible for them any longer to Agree among *Them-
selves*; And there's the Utmost of their *Unity*. Their *Re-
solution* indeed I cannot Deny but it comes up to That in
th' Epigram, That, *He that Dares be Damn'd, Dares more
than fight.* Scrup.

Toleration Discuss'd.

Scrup. Wee shall do our Cause an Injury to press too farr upon Reason of State in Matter of Religion.

Conf. Indeed, I think you'l find it a hard Task, to make it out to any Man of Reason, that the Kingdom will be either the Better for Granting you a Toleration, or the Worse for Refusing it: but 'tis to be hop'd that your Merits will plead better for you then your Politicks.

SECT. V.

The Non-Conformists Plea for TOLERATION, from the Merits of the Party.

*Conf. W*Hat ha's your Party (Gentlemen) Merited from the Publique, that an Exception to a General Rule, should be Granted in Your Favour ? Name your services.

Ze. Wee ventur'd All to save the Life of the Late King.

Conf. And yet Ye ventur'd more to Take it away: for, Ye did but Talk for the One, and Ye Fought for the Other.

Ze. We ever Abominated the Thought of Murthering him.

Conf. You should have Abominated the Money too, for which Ye Sold him.

Scrup. Did Wee sell him ?

Conf. No, You were the Purchasers.

Ze. Did not the Presbyterians Vote His Majesties Concessions a Ground for a Treaty ?

Conf. Yes: but withall they held him up to Conditions worse than Death it self; and, in short, They Deliver'd Him up, when they might have Preserv'd Him; and they
Stickled

Toleration Discus'd.

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Stickled for Him, when they knew they could do Him no Good.

Ze. What Design could They have in That ?

Conf. They might have the same Design in -48. which they had in -41. for ought that I know. To make a Party by't; and set up a *Presbyterian Interest* in the *Kings Name*.

Ze. All the World knows, that we were so much afflicted for his Sacred Majesties Distress, that we had many solemn Dayes of Humiliation for it.

Conf. So ye had for his *Successes*, for fear he should get the better of ye; and you had your *Dayes of Thanksgiving* too, for his *Dysasters*.

Ze. What do ye think of Preiton-Fight? was That a Juggle too?

Conf. I think ye should do well to let that *Action* sleep, for the Honour of the *Kirk*: for though the *Cavaliers* found it *Great Earnest*, 'tis shrewdly suspected that there was *foul play* among the *Brethren*.

Ze. Pray'e let mee ask you One Question: Who Brought in This King?

Conf. They that would not suffer You to keep him out: That Party that by a *Restless*, and *Incessant Loyalty*, hinder'd your *Establishments*.

Ze. And what do ye think of the Secluded Members?

Conf. I think, a *New Choyce* would have done the *Kings* business every jot as well; and *Matters* were then at That pass, that *One* of the *Two* was unavoydable. In fine, 'tis allow'd at all hands, that the *Prime Single Instrument* of his *Majestyes Restauration* was the *Duke of Albemarle*. But if you come to *Partyes*, the very *Fact* appears against ye: For, though all possible *Industry* was employ'd to make the *Next Choyce* totally *Presbyterian*, by *Disabling* all such *Persons*, and their *Sons*, as (in effect) had serv'd the *King* since -41. without manifesting their *Repentance* for it since; Yet, so strong was the *General Vote* of the *People*, for the *Kings True Interest*, and against *All Factions*, that *All Endeavour* was too little to

E

Leaven

Toleration Discus'd.

Leaven the next Convention, as was Design'd. If ye have no more to say for the *Merits* of your *Party*, wee'l pass on to the *Merits* of your *Cause* :

Ze. Do so, and wee'l give you the *Hearing*.

S E C T. VI.

The Non-conformists Plea for TOLERATION, from the Innocence of their Practices and Opinions.

Conf. **C**ONCERNING the *Innocency* of your *Practices* and *Opinions*, must be our next Enquiry; and how farr your *Actions* and *Principles* Comport with the *Duties* of *Society*, and with the *Ends* of *Government*. If Authority find them *Regular* and *Modest*, it will be a fair Motive to his Majesty to Grant ye an *Indulgence*, upon so fair a *Presumption* that You will not *Abuse* it.

Ze. And we shall willingly cast our selves upon That Tryal.

Conf. Go to then. But I must Ask ye some untoward Questions by the way. What's your Opinion (Gentlemen) of the Warr Rais'd in --41. was it a *Rebellion*, or no?

Ze. 'Tis a Point we dare not Meddle with.

Conf. Nay, then you falter; for if you Thought it One, you'd Answer me; and if ye think it *None*, you'd think the same Thing, over again, to be none too. Suffice it, that in fact there was a Warr, and such a Warr as no Honest *English* Man can Reflect upon, but with Grief, Shame, Horrour, and Indignation: Can ye tell me what was the Ground of the Quarrel?

Ze. I think you were in the Right your self, when ye said, it was Religion and Liberty.

Conf. I suppose, I shall not need to tell ye the Event of

of it; But of which side were the *Tender Consciences*, For the King, or Against Him?

Ze. We were ever for the King: Witness our Petitions, Declarations, and in a most Signal Manner, our Solemn League and Covenant.

Conf. Now I thought ye had been Against Him, because ye Seiz'd his Revenues, Levy'd a War, Hunted and Imprison'd his Person, and at last took away his Life. But the truth on't is, Ye were Both: Ye were For Him in Your Words, and Against Him in Your Actions.

Ze. There were many in Our Party That Lov'd the King as well as Any of You that were about Him.

Conf. That is, According to your Covenant: and I do not think but that your Party Loves This King just as they did the Last.

Scrup. I would his Majesty had no worse Enemies.

Conf. And I say, God send Him better Friends. You Love the Bishops too I hope, Do ye not?

Scrup. Truly when they are out of their Fooleries, I have no Quarrel to the Men.

Ze. And to deal plainly, I am not yet Convinced of their Lordships Prerogative; nor that there's Any Inherent Holiness in a Cope or a Surplice. But why do you Comble the Crown and the Miter so, as if no Man could be a good Subject, that's Disaffected to Prelacy.

Conf. To be Free with ye, That's my Opinion, and I'm the stiffer in't, because I think you can hardly shew me, any One Non-Conformist, that upon a voluntary and chear Accompt ever struck Stroke For the King; nor any true Son of the Episcopal Order of the Church, that ever bore Arms Against Him.

Ze. What will you forfeit if I shew you Hundreds?

Conf. Either my Head, or the Cause, which you please.

Ze. What do you think of the Papists, whom You say may be you and they are all One, and so you won't rack them for Non-Conformists?

Conf. To say the truth, we were All One in Loyalty to his Majesty, and to Your Eternal Reproach be it spoken,

ELIZAB. BAZ.
P. 130.

[That the Papists should have a greater Sense of their Allegiance than many Protestant Professors]

Ze. Nay I believe a Machiavellian Jesuit shall ha' your good word, sooner than a Conscientious Puritan.

Conf. Truly no; for a *Presbyterian Papist*, and a *Presbyterian Puritan* are Both alike to mee; and I confels, I had rather be *Preserv'd* by a Man of *Another Religion*, than ha' my *Throat cut* by One of my *Own*. But, my Good Brother of the Consistory, no Slipping your Neck out of the Collar: I was speaking of the *Non-Conformists*; by which Term is properly meant, Such Persons as Refuse to Obey the Orders of the Church, whereof they Acknowledge Themselves to be Members; so that the Point in Debate, has no Coherence at all with your Digression. To Mind you of it, the Question's This: Whether or no the *Practises* of the *Non-Conformists* have been such, as may probably Dispose his Majesty towards the Granting of a *Toleration*. And now to hold you to the Question. [By Whom was the War in Scotland begun?] By the *Non-Conformists*.

Ze. By whom I beseech ye was the Rebellion in Ireland begun?

ELIZAB. BAZ.
P. 93.

Conf. By the *Presbyterian Papists*, but it was provok'd, and pre-dispos'd by the *Presbyterian Puritans*; [So that, next to the Sin of those, who begun that Rebellion, Theirs must needs be, who either hinder'd the speedy suppressing of it, by *Domestique Dissentions*, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels, to the most Desperate Resolutions and Actions, by threatening all Extremities, not only to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries; but even to the whole Community]

munity of that Nation, Resolving to Destroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children; without any regard to those usual pleas for Mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly Barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive Fears, rather than their Malice, Engag'd them; or whose Imbecillity for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left.] These are the Words of that Evangelical Prince,

that Dy'd a Martyr for That Religion, and Liberty, which He was Calumniar'd to have Betray'd. By whom I beseech ye, was He Persecuted, Divest'd of All his Regalities, Assaulted, Immur'd, Depos'd, and Murder'd, but By *Your Party*, Gentlemen? By whom, was Episcopacy Destroy'd, Root and Branch; the Law Trampled upon; Our Churches Prophan'd; Monarchy Subverted; the Free-born People of *England* Pillag'd, and Enslav'd; the Nation Engag'd in Bloud and Beggery; but by the *Non-Conformists*?

Ze. Why do ye Charge those Exorbitancies upon the whole Party, that were the Crimes only of some Particular and Ambitious Men? Do you believe, That it should ever have gone so far, if we Two could have Hinder'd it?

Conf. No, Indeed do I not; and I do believe that there were Thousands in the Party that Intended it as little as your selves. Now, Me thinks, This Experience should Deterre ye, from the Project you are at this Instant upon; Especially considering that you are upon the very Steps that led to the late Rebellion. The *Method*, was *Petitioning*; the *Argument*, was *Liberty of Conscience*; and the *Pretext*, *Religion*; *Papery*, was the *Eng-brar*; and the *Mul-*

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itude, were the *Umpires* of the *Controversie*. Nay, you have the very *same Persons* to Lead ye On; and *They*, the very *same Matter* to work upon. Bethink your selves; Ye meant no hurt (ye say) to the *last King*, and yet ye Ruin'd him: Ye may perchance *Intend* as little harm to *This King*, and yet do him as much. Not that the matter is in *Your Power*; but I would not have it in your *Will*, and *Endeavour*. But enough is said touching the *Innocency* of your *Practices*: That of your *Opinions*, follows; and I am Mistaken, if your *Principles* prove not Altogether as Intolerable as your *Practices* (by *Intolerable*, I mean, *Inconsistent with the Publick Peace*)

Ze. Sure you'll send me to my Catechism again.

Conf. Nay, Marke me; I will make it so clear to ye, that *You your Selves* shall Confess, that *Sedition* flows as Naturally from your Ordinary, and Receiv'd Opinions, as *Corrupt Waters* from a *Poyson'd Fountain*; and not as an Accident neither, attendant upon Your Separation, but as a firm'd and excogitated Design, wrapt up, and Coucht in the very *Mystery* of your *Profession*.

Ze. Wou'd you'd be pleas'd to unveil the *Mystery* you speak of.

Conf. In Obedience, I'll Endeavour it.

The most Sacred of All Bonds, is That of Government, next to That of Religion; and the Reverence which we Owe to *Humane Authority*, is only Inferiour to That which we Owe to *God Himself*. Yet, such is the *Deprav'd State* of Nature, that Every man is touch'd with an Ambition (more or less) to gain to Himself some share in the Command of the Whole: and from hence proceed Those Strugglings of Particular Persons, which we so frequently meet with in Opposition to the General Lawes, and Ends of Order and Society. So soon as This Private Humour has Emprov'd, and Ripen'd it Self into a Design, the first Maxim which appears in favour of it, is This; that The *Less Obligation* must give way to the *Greater*; as (for Instance) *Reason of State* must give place to Matter of Religion,

ligion, and Humane Lives to the Law Divine: which being Duly Weigh'd, what has any man more to do in Order to the Embroyling of a Nation, but to perswade the People that This or that Political Law has no Foundation in the Word of God; to bid them Stand fast in the Liberty where-with Christ has Made them Free: and finally to Engage the Name of God, and the Voyce of Religion in the Quarrel? Gal. 5. 1.

Ze. And do not You your self believe it Better to Obey God then Man?

Conf. Yes, but I think it Best of All to Obey Both: to Obey God, for Himself, in Spirituals; and Man for God's sake in Temporals, as he is God's Commissioner. But let me Proceed. Are not you Convinc'd, that the most likely way in the world to stir up Subjects against their Prince, is to Proclaim the Iniquity of his Laws? to tell them (in Effect) that They'll be Damn'd, if they Obey; and (in a word) to make the Rabble Judges of their Governours?

Ze. Well, but what's This to Us, or Our Opinions?

Conf. I wish it were not; but to Cough the whole in a Little, Shew me, if you can, where ever your Opinions yet gain'd Footing in the world without Violence; and Blood: Shew me again, Any One Sermon or Discourse (Authoris'd by a Non-conformist) from 1640. to This Instant, that presses Obedience to the Magistrate, unless where the Faction was Uppermost; which shrew'dly intimates, that Your Principles are Inconsistent with your Duties, and that the very Grounds of Your Government are Destructive of any Other.

Ze. Make That appear if you can.

Conf. I will so, and I think we shall not need to travail out of his Majesty's Dominions to Prove it. Come, Zeal; You're of the Classical way; and You, Scruple, of the Independent; Produce Your Doctors; (but let them be the Pillars of your Cause) such Persons, as upon whose Judgment, and Integrity, You'll venture the Sum of the Dispute.

Ze. Soft and fair, I beseech ye; what is't you undertake to do? Conf.

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Conf. I do undertake to prove that the Opinions of the Non-conformists, (to say no worse) will very hardly admit a Toleration: and, Now, By whom will ye be Try'd?

Ze. What do ye think of Rutherford?

Conf. I suppose you mean the Divinity-Professor of St. Andrews. (John Goodwin, I remember, calls him, *The Chariot of Presbytery, and the Horsemen thereof*) In Truth you have pitch'd upon the *Atlas* of your Cause. But hear the *Rabbi* in his own words, [a] *The Power of the King is but Fiduciary.* [b] *The Sovereign Power is Eminently, Fontal ter, Originally, and Radically in the People.* [c] *The King is in Dignity Inferiour to the People.* [d] *There is a Court of Necessity, no less than a Court of Justice, and th: Fundamental Laws must Then speak; and it is with the People, in This Extremity, as if they had no Ruler.*

Ze. Well: but Rutherford is but One man, I believe you'll find Gillespy of another Opinion.

Conf. Assure your Self, Friend Mine, they all sing the Same Song [e] [*Let not the Pretence of Peace and Unity cool your Fervour, or make you Spare to oppose your selves unto these Idle and Idolized Ceremonies, against which we Dispute*] For [f] *Whensoever you may omit that which Princes enjoy, without Violating the Law of Charity, you are not holden to Obey them, for the Majesty of Princely Authority.*

Are not These Sons of Zeal worthy of Encouragement, think ye? You'll say perhaps, Gillespy is but One Man neither. Come, Come, I could shew ye Hundreds of Them; and if you'll but read Spottswood's *History of the Church of Scotland, and his Late Majesty's Large Declaration, Printed in 1639.* ye shall need go no further for satisfaction. Topass over the Desperate Opinions and Contrivances of Particulars; as Willock, Knox, Melvil, Gibson, &c. Let us look a little into their more Solemn Actions, and read the Temper of the Kirk in their General Assemblies.

1. *An Assembly is Independant, either from King*

a Lex Rex
P. 136.
b 156.
c 140.
d 113.

e Gillespy P.
11. Engl. Pop.
Cerem.
f 245.

Kings Declar.
P. 409.

King or Parliament in Matters Ecclesiastical.

2. An Assembly may Abrogate an Act of Parliament, if it any way reflect upon the business of the Church. P. 411.

3. It is Lawful for Subjects to make a Covenant and Combination without the King, and to enter into a Bond of Mutual Defence against Him. P. 409.

4. The Major part of the Kingdome (especially being met in a Representative Assembly) may do any thing which they take to be Conducing to the Glory of God, and to the Good of the Church; not only Without the Royal Authority, but Expressly Against it. P. 413.

Were't not a Thousand Pitties now, to refuse This Tender Sort of Christians a Toleration?

Ze. Nay; In good truth, I never lik't the Extreme Rigour of the Scottish Discipline.

Conf. And yet 'twas That you Leagu'd and Covenanted to make your Pattern; but where do you Expect to Mend your Self, under That Form of Government?

Ze. Truly, I take our English Divines of that Judgment to be very Pious, Moderate Persons.

Conf. Never a Barrel better Herring; That is, If they come once to Dip into the Controversie.

Ze. Do not you take Mr. ---- for a very sober well-weigh'd Person?

Conf. Take you the Measure of him, from his own Hand. [If a People bound by Oath shall Dispossess their Prince, and Chuse, and Covenant with Another; they may be Oblig'd by the Latter, notwithstanding their former Covenant.] The

A Sacred Pa-
n:gyrick. P. 23

real Sovereignty among us, was, in King, Lords and Commons; and if the King raise War against such a Parliament, in That Case, the King may not only be Resisted, but ceaseth to be a King. Hear now the File-leader of *SMECTYMANNIS*. [*The Question in England, is whether Christ or Antichrist shall be Lord, or King: Go on therefore Courageously: Never can ye lay out your Blood in such a Quarrel; Christ shed all his Blood to save you from Hell, venture all yours to set Him upon his Throne. (That is to say, Down with Episcopacy, and Up with Presbytery) This is the Language of One of your Seraphique Doctors; and the Sermon both Preach'd by Command, and Printed by Order. Take notice of his Auditory too: No less then the Two Houses, General, Lord-Mayor, Assembly, and Scotch Commissioners, Jan. 18. 1643.*

Scrup. You will not deny Mr. John Goodwyn (*I hope*) to be a Reverend Divine.

D:fence of the
Honourable
Sentence pass-
ed upon the
late King.
Pa. 90.

Conf. At the Rate of Your Divinity, indeed I cannot deny it, Touching the Righteousness of the Sentence pass'd upon the King; Doubtless (says he) never was there any Person under Heaven Sentenc'd with Death upon more Equitable, and just Grounds, in respect of Guilt and Demerit. Mr. Jenkins is of the same opinion, and so is Parker, Milton; and, in fine, the whole Tribe of Medling Non-conformists are of the same Leven. Now, to shew ye that This Agreement comes not by Chance, you are to observe, that whatsoever is first Expos'd and Blown abroad (by the Hirelings of the Faction) from the Press, and Pulpit, is still Seconded (at least, if the People Relish it) with the Approbation of the Counsel: so that the main use of Sermons, and Pamphlets, is only to dispose the Multitude for Votes, and Ordinances. If you doubt This; do but Compare the Doctrines of the One, with the Practices of the Other; and you must be Blind, not to discern that they act by Consent, and Intelligence. In case of False-worship (says the Pulpit) and (says the Press) In case of Tyranny, Defensive Arms are Lawful. If the People Swallow This; the next news ye hear, is a Vote for putting that Position in Practice. Resolved upon the Que-
stion

Ex Coll. Pa.
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Toleration Discus'd.

B

*tion, that the King (Seduced by wicked Counsel) intend
to make War, &c. [May 20. 1642.] Resolved upon the Ex. Coll. Pa.
Question, that an Army shall be forthwith Raised, &c. [July 457.
12. 1642.*

*Ze. Will ye make the Parliament then, and the Synod,
Confederate with the Rabble?*

*Conf. Tush, Tush; Turbam, tam Chlamydotos, quam Co-
ronam voco. I speak of a Faction, not of an Authority; I
do not meddle with Parliaments: Yet since you have such
a Kindness for the very Names These People Acted up-
der, Let me Offer ye a Word or two to Consider upon,
touching That Thing, which you call a Synod. First,*

The men were neither Legally Conven'd, nor *Elkay Bar. Pa. 183.*
did They Act in the Name of all the Clergy
of England: So that no Matter what They Did,

as to the Validity of any thing They could pretend to do.
Secondly, What was Their Employment, but to Advise
upon the Cleanliest way of Shifting the Government, and
to do as much for the *Bishops*, as the House did for his
Majesty? Will ye have the Truth on't? They clear'd
their Conscience abundantly to Both. First; in Their Let-
ter to *Reformed Churches* Abroad, They Charge the King
as the Patron of the *Irish Rebellion* [Pa. 7.] and, in short,
throughout the whole Tenor of it as the most Insupportable
Tyrant in Nature. Secondly, Let That (not only *Unchri-
stian* but *Inhumane*) Collection of *White's Scandalous Mi-
nisters* bear Witness Against Them. Wherein, without any
Respect either to *Truth*, or *Modesty*, They have Expos'd
so Many Reverend Names to *Infamy*, and *Dishonour*, for
the better Colour of Their own Wickedness in Robbing
them of their Livings.

I have here laid before you, the *Merits, Practices, and
Opinions* of the Party you plead for. If I have told ye
Truth, Think on't; if *otherwise*, Disprove it.

*Ze. I will not Deny, but Ill things have been done: Shall
All therefore be Condemn'd, for the Faults of Some?*

*Conf. And I will not deny neither, but there are Good
people*

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people in the mixture; shall *All* therefore be *Indulg'd* for the *Honesty* of *some*? Try your skill, my Masters; and if You can contrive such an Expedient, as may Relieve *Particulars*, without Hazzard, or Dammage to the *Whole*, ye shall have my Vote for such a *Toleration*. But before ye propound it, give me leave to offer ye such other Reasons of my *Own*, Against it, as have not been yet touch'd upon, and then you are at Liberty to speak to *All* at Once.

SECT. VII.

TOLERATION, causes Confusion both
in Church and State.

Conf. **G**entlemen, To come quick to the Business; My Exceptions to your Proposal of *Toleration*, shall be Reduc'd to *Four Heads*: My *First* Exception arises from the very Nature of the Thing it self; My *Second*, from this *Juncture of Time* wherein it is Desired; My *Third*, from the Consideration of the *Partyes* that Desire it; and My *Last* Exception, proceeds from the Reverence I bear to the *Authority* that is to Grant it. Now, if You please, Wee'l begin with the *First*, and pass to the Rest in Order.

My First Argument against *Toleration*, is This: It is (in those that press it) a *Tacit Condemnation of an Establish'd Law*, and not without some Reflection upon the Supreme Authority it self. If there was Reason for the Making of it, There is yet More for the Observing of it; by how much an Universal Obedience is more Profitable to the Publicque, than any Particular Constitution.

Scrup. *It would be well, If you would bring all People to the same Mind, before ye force them to the same Rule.*

Conf. But it would be Ill if you should admit of no Rule

Rule at all, till you had found out One, that all the world should be pleas'd with.

Scrup. *We do not ask the Vacating of a Law, but the Relaxing of it.*

Conf. Why then, You ask a Worse Thing; for it were Much better for the Publique, utterly to vacate a Good Law, then to suffer the Withdrawing of that Reverence which is due even to a Bad one. If the *Reason* of such or such a Law be gone, *Repeal the Law*; but to let the *Obligation fall*, and the *Law Stand*, is, not only to Introduce, but to Proclaim a Disorder in the Government. The Law, in fine, is, an Act of Publique, and Impartial Justice, not made for This, or That Particular, but for a Common Good.

My Second Exception to *Toleration*, is, Because it Implies a kind of *Assent* (let me not say *Submission*) both to the *Equity* of the *Subjects Complaint*, and to the *Reason* of the *Tolerated Opinion*, which, in some Degree, seems to *Authorise a Separation*. Now let it be once admitted, that any *One Law* may be *Question'd* by the Multitude; the Consequence reaches to all the *Rest*: Let it be admitted, either, that any *One sort of People* may be allowed to challenge any *One Law*, All other Opinions have the same Right of *Compleyning*.

Scrup. *But we do not question either the Prudence of the Law-makers, or the General Equity of the Constitution; only where God has not given us Consciences suitable to the Rule, we do humbly begg of his Majesty to bestow upon us a Rule that may comply with our Consciences.*

Conf. Would you have a Law made that shall comply with *All Consciences*? Ye demand an Impossibility. God Himself never made a Law that pleased all people. Oh! but the Imposition under a *Penalty* troubles ye. Take away the *Sanction*, and what signifies the *Law*? Well, but You would be exempt I perceive from the general Obligation; so would every man else, and then there's no Law at all: In short, Ye cannot say what ye would have. Would ye have a particular Indulgence? Where's the

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Equity of it as to Those that are Excluded? Will ye have it Generall? Where's the Conscience of it, when all Heresies are entertain'd. You should consider, that Lawes are fram'd with a regard to the Community; and they ought to stand Firm and Inexorable: If once they come to hearken to *Particular Clamours*, and to side with *Particular Interests*, the Reverence of Government is shaken.

Ze. You have speculated here some Arty Inconveniences; but where's the Real hazard of receding from that Inexorable strictness? (as you call it.)

Conf. First, the Magistrate makes himself of a Party with Those that he Tolerates, against Those that he Rejects, which draws an envy upon the Government.

Secondly, The Tolerated Party becomes a Sanctuary for all the seditious Persons in the Kingdom. It was well said of one (whom I esteem more for his *Wit* than his *Honesty*) speaking of a Thin House of Commons; *It looks (says he) like a Parish Church that borders upon a Conventicle.* And the very Truth of it is, *A Schismatical Lecturer*, is as bad as a *Rotted Dogg* in a *Dove-house*, he tolls away all the Pigeons i'th Countrey. Not that the People throng to him for the Excellency of the *Man*, or of the *Way*, but they Meet to Proclaim Themselves Masters of the Law, and to count how many Thousand souls there are, even in this sinfull Nation, that will not *bow the Knee to Baal*. Let them go on, and within a while, the King perhaps shall sue to *Them*, for the same Toleration They now begg from *Him*, and go without it; that is, unless His Majesty has better luck then his Father (which God send him, for he has several of the very same Persons to deal withall.)

Another Objection may be This; If there be any Reason for *Granting* a Toleration, 'tis Probable the Reason will be stronger for *Continuing* it; so that, in Time, the People shall Challenge That as a *Right*, which They now only Demand as a *Favour*; and the next Motion is into a *Popular Reformation*. Let me add to what I have said, that a Toleration does not only Evirtuate the Law, but it naturally

rally produces a total Dissolution of Ecclesiastical Order, and consequently begets a Confusion both in Church and State.

Ze. You speak as if there were no such thing as a Toleration in Nature.

Conf. Of that in place convenient.

SECT. VIII.

The Danger of TOLERATION in this Juncture.

Conf. I Need not tell ye (Gentlemen) that I am no great friend to Toleration at *Any* time : but I must confess to ye, that at *This* time I like it worse then I have done at any *Other*.

Scrup. When, to *My* thinking, there never was more need of it, nor more Hope of the Fruit of it, then is at this *Instant*. Are not the People ready to Tumult for want of it ?

Conf. Indeed a very proper Reason why they should have it, that they may be encouraged to Tumult again, for what they have a mind to *Next*. How long do you believe that Government would stand, where the Multitude should take notice that their Rulers are afraid of them ? Are they ready to *Tumult* ? then they are not *Conscientious* ; and if it be not *conscience* that moves them, 'tis *Sedition*.

Scrup. I'm very confident, An Indulgence would Quiet them.

Conf. Can you remember the steps of the last Warr, and be of that Opinion ? What was it but *That* which was given to *Quiet* the Faction that enabled them to take All the *Rest* ? To give you a fresh Instance ; What could be more *Pious*, *Gracious*, or *Obliging*, then his Majesties Late *Decla-*

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Declaration, in Favour of the *Non-conformists*? All that was possible for the King to doe, in consistence with *Conscience*, *Honour*, and the *Peace* of his Dominions, his Majesty has there frankly assur'd them of: and what's the effect of all? Are they one jot the *Quieter* for't? No, but the worse; for no sooner was his Majesties *Tenderness* (in That Particular) made *Publique*, but the generality (even of Those that had lately entred into a Regular and Dutifull compliance with the Orders of the Church) started into a new *Revolt*; which *Demonstrates*, that the true ground of their *Separation* is not *Conscience*, but *Faction*, and proves sufficiently the *benefit*, and *necessity*, of a *strict Rule*, and the *hazard* of a *Relaxation*: For you see, that rather then abide the *Penalty* of the Act, they could *Conform*; but upon the least Glimpse of an *Indulgence*, they Relapse into a *Schism*.

Come, Brother Zeal; Your Friend of ---- shall pin the Basket. That Sermon of his that you wote of, (at least if *His* it be, and several Impressions of it have pass'd as *His*, without any Contradiction) That Sermon do I take to be one of the Lewdest Requitals of the Kings Mercy and Goodness that ever ---- But no more, *Hee's a Son of the Kirke*

Take him First, as a Person whom his Majesty has Pardon'd, although a *Leading*, and *Pragmatical Instrument* toward the Ruine of his *Royal Father*. Consider him *Secondly*, as one that has been taken nibbling at Sedition, 'since his Majesty's Return before now, and yet been wink'd at. *Thirdly*, take notice of the very point of Time he has chosen for his purpose. His *Contempt* meets the Kings *Mercy* just in the *Face*, and his Majesty's Arms are no sooner open to receive him, then he takes that very nick of Opportunity to stab him in.

Ze. And all This Amplifying, and Passion, for Preaching, forsooth, without a Licence.

Conf. The least thing in my thought, I assure ye; for I speak to the *Dangerous Scope* and Application of his
Ser-

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Sermon, without any concern at all whether he did *Well*, or *Ill*, as to the Act of *Uniformity*.

Ze. I will not justify his Prudence, but in my Conscience the man never meant any hurt, either to this King, or to his Father, I should abhorre him, if I thought he did.

Conf. Wee'l handle that Point at leisure: But to bring what we are now upon, to a Period. I look upon Mr. Calamy as the Mouth of the Party, and ye see with what a seditious Confidence they own his Actions, and avow his Disobedience: So that from Mr. Calamy's single Envy we are to take the Measure of the *Main Question*: And now I ask ye; Whether, or no, do you hold it convenient to dispense with a Law, in favour of That Party, which at the same time both Challenges, and Desies That Law, and Despises that Mercy?

Ze. When you have made out the Fact, as you have layd it, I'll tell ye my Opinion.

Conf. Again, we are perpetually Alarm'd with Plotts, ye see; Now what better means then a Toleration, to draw the Conspirators into a *Body*? In Truth; to gratifie a Party that thus outfaces Authority, and to do it too in the very *Crisis* of the Contest, is a Policy that I can't reach the Bottom of. This Thred might be drawn finer; but I have something to say concerning the Party, as well as the Time.

G

Ster.

SECT. IX.

Arguments against TOLERATION,
in respect of the Party that desires it; with,
Animadversions upon a certain Pamphlet,
Entituled, A SERMON Preached at
ALDERMANBURY-CHURCH,
Decemb. 28. 1662. &c.

Conf. **W**E are now entring into a Large Field, Gentlemen, and that we may not lose our selves, Let us move orderly toward the Question. Your *Party* desires a *Toleration*, is't not so?

Scrup. *It is so.*

Conf. And what is Your *Party*, I beseech ye? Where do they *Dwell*? What are their *Names*? Their *Opinions*, &c. --- For to *Tolerate*, No body knows *Whom*, or *What*, would be a little with the Largest, I think; would it not?

Scrup. Truly I think it would. But to Answer your queyent Question; Our *Party* is a certain num'ber of Godly and Conscientious men, that desire a *Freedom* to *Worship* God in their own way.

Conf. But now You must tell me Your *Way* too.

Scrup. Our *Way* must be such a *Way* as is agreeable to Gods *Word*.

Conf. Do yemean, that it must be expressly mark'd out, and commanded There; or will it serve the Turn, if it be only not *Prohibited*?

Ze. God forbid, that any sober Christian should imagine that our Saviour left his Church without a Rule, and certainly the Lord's Discipline is the best Pattern, so that we are to stick to the Ordinance of Jesus Christ, without Adding or Diminishing.

Conf.

Conf. *Scrup.* What say You to This? for if it be so, there is but *One* way of Worshipping, *Lawfull*; and consequently, but *One* way *Tolerable*.

Scrup. *In Truth, I am content to venture My Soul among Those that serve the Lord according to the Light that he has given them.*

Conf. So that I perceive 'tis utterly Impossible to please ye Both; for You are for *several* wayes, and your Brother Zeal but for *One*. How comes it now that You *Two*, that can never Agree betwixt your *selves*, should yet Joyn in a Petition against *Us*?

Scrup. *We Agree in This, that neither of us would be Limited.*

Conf. Do not You find your self Foul now upon the Old Rock of *Universal Toleration* again? I would, You'd be but so honest Once, as to Yield, when Y'are Convin'd. Can you either name Those Opinions, which you would have Indulg'd; or can you Expect a Toleration for all Opinions at a venture?

Scrup. *Provided they be not contrary to Gods Word.*

Conf. But who shall be Judge of That? If each *Individual*, You must admit Right and Wrong, promiscuously, for no man will condemn *himself*; If *Authority*, You are concluded by an *Ecclesiastical Law*. Have a Care now of your old Distinction of *Fundamentals*, and *Non-fundamentals*, for then your very foundation fails ye, and ye renounce the most plausible part of your Plea, to wit, your Title of Conscience. A word now to your Brother.

You are for the *Holy Discipline, Zeal*; for *That* way, and for no *Other*.

Ze. *We are for That way which is prescrib'd in the Word.*

Conf. Of which way, either the *People* or the *Governours* must be the Judges. If you say the *People*, the *Independent* has the Better of ye; if the *Governours*, you must submit to the Resolutions of the *Church*: In fine, If ye cannot say what ye would have, never Complain that ye cannot Obtain what ye Ask; and That's my first Reason against

The Non-conformists would have they know not what.

gainst Tolera^{ing} the Non-conformists. They are a sort of People that would have they know not what. In which, Particular Experience bears witness against them: For, what have they done since -- 41. but Overturn'd the Government, Divided the Spoil, Enrich'd Themselves, Embroyl'd every thing, and serled nothing? And yet my Masters there was no Act of Uniformity to hinder ye.

Ze. You cannot imagine sure that all these Hurli-burlies and Confusions, were Design'd.

Conf. Not All perhaps, for I believe ye thought to do your Business with less Trouble: But that the subversion of the Government was Design'd is plain, and certain; and truly that it is now Design'd over again, is scarce less Evident: Upon which special consideration, I ground my Second Exception.

Scrup. But That would be hard, to ruine so many People of God for an Uncharitable surmise.

Conf. Go to *Scruple*; If That be not the scope of your Monstrous Barnettness for a Toleration, pray'e tell me what is? If ye have no end at all in't, 'tis Frivolous; if This be your end, 'tis Impious; if ye have any other End, make it appear.

Scrup. *I will satisfie our Consciences.*

Conf. Heaven and Earth shall be sooner brought together then your Two Consciences; will the Establishment of Presbytery satisfie your Conscience, or the Allowance of Liberty satisfie your Brothers? If it be the Uniformity ye Dislike; How come ye to Joyn with the Directory, against the Common-prayer; with That of the Assembly, against That of the Church? In short, Your Disagreements among your selves, are almost as Notorious as your Conjunction Against Us, and ye have given Proof to the World, that it is not possible for any thing Else to Unite you, but a Common Booty; Witness the Contentious Papers and Disputes, betwixt Calamy, and Burton, Edwards, and Goodwin, and Others, not to be Number'd, concerning the very Point of Toleration. [The desires of the Independents for a Toleration (say the London-Ministers) are unreasonable, and

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and unequal, and many Mischiefs will follow upon't both to Church and Common-wealth.] Now on the other side, hear what *Sterry* sayes, [Lord thou hast done Graciously, and Wonderfully, in saving us from the Bloody Design of the Egyptian Papacy : But this last Mercy by which thou hast sav'd us from the Black Plotts, and Bloody Powers of the Northern Presbytery, has Excell'd them All.] *Rutherford* tells ye that [Such Opinions and Practices, as make an evident Schisme in a Church, and set up two Distinct Churches, of different Firms, and Government, &c. cannot be Tolerated.] *Milton* again, will have the *Presbyterians* to be [Ministers of Sedition, not Ministers of the Gospel.] With what face now can those People appear to claim a Toleration from the Publique, whose Principles are so cross, that they cannot afford it One to Another?

Engl. Deliv.
Pa. 7.

Fresh Disput.
Pa. 98.

Tenure of Kings
Pa. 36.

Scrup. Well, but supposing these unhappy Clashings among Themselves, how does that prove them in Confederacy against the Publique ?

Conf. Their very Agreement against the Government, and in nothing else, makes it evident enough : but if You'd have it clearer, Look thorough their Proceedings.

In a Petition that accompanyed their black Remonstrance of Dec. 15. --- 41. You may find the Points chiefly inlisted upon to be These. The Honour of the King, the Liberty, and Property of the Subject ; The Moderating of the Bishops Power ; and the Removal of some Unnecessary Ceremonies, for the Ease of Tender Consciences : Nay, so far were they from any Purpose or Desire, to let loose the Golden Reins of Discipline and Government in the Church, that they held it Requisite to Maintain a Conformity throughout the Kingdom, to that Order, which the Lawes Enjoy'd ; and took it very unkindly that the Malignant Party should Infuse into the People, that they meant to Abolish all Church-Government ; and leave every man to his own Fancy, for the Service and Worship of God, Absolving him of that Obedience which he Owes under God unto his Majesty, whom THEY KNEW TO BE ENTRUSTED WITH THE ECCLESIASTICAL LAW, AS WELL AS WITH THE TEM-

Ex. Coll.
Pa. 2.

Remonstr.
Ex. Coll.
Pa. 19.

Ibid.

PORAL, &c.---- They confess indeed their intention of Reducing within Bounds that Exorbitant Power which the Prelates had Assum'd unto Themselves so contrary both to the Word of God, and to the Lawes of the Land. To which end they pass'd the Bill for Removing them from their Temporal Power and Employments, that so the better they might with Meekness apply Themselves to the discharge of their Functions. Will ye now see the Correspondence betwixt these Gentlemens Words, and their Actions? and First concerning the Honour of the King; wherein This word shall suffice, that they omitted Nothing, in order to the destroying both of his Soul, Body, and Reputation, which either Craft, Violence, or Calumny could Contribute, and not to Rob either of the Two Factions of their deserved Fame, and Interest, in the Ruine of that Glorious Prince. I shall conclude with Parkers decision of the Case, *The Presbyterians pass'd the Sentence of Condemnation, and the Independents executed it.*

The False Brother.

Ze. I shall not pretend to Justifie all their Actions; but in truth my Charity persuades me, that a great part of the Mischief they did, proceeded rather from Necessity then Inclination.

Conf. Will yee see then what they did afterward when they were at Liberty to do what they List'd?

They had no sooner Murther'd the Father, but immedi-

Scobels Acts, &c. ately [a] They made it Death to Proclaime the Son. [b] They
[a] Part. 2. Abolish'd Kingly Government. [c] Sold the Crown Lands.
Pag. 3. [d] Declar'd it Treason to deny the Supremacy of the Commons.
[b] Pag. 7. [e] Null'd all Honours and Titles granted by the King since 41.
[c] Pag. 51. [f] Made Scotland one Common-wealth with England,
[d] Pag. 65. &c.
[e] Pag. 178.

[f] Pag. 293. Have they now kept any better Touch with the Liberty
[a] Scobels and Property of the Subject? Let their Proceedings witness
Acts, &c. for them, [a] As their Tax upon the Fifth and Twentieth
Pag. 41. Part. [b] Excise upon Flesh, Victuals, and Salt. [c] A
[b] Pag. 60. new Excise upon Allom, Copperas, Monmouth-Caps, Hoppes;
[c] Pag. 73. Saffron, Starch, &c. [d] A Loane of 66666 l. 13 s. 4 d. for
[d] Pag. 75. supply of the Scots. [e] An Assessement for the Maintenance
[e] Pag. 128. of the Army. [f] The House of Peeres Abolish'd, and a Monthly
[f] Pag. 8. Tax
Part 3.

Tax of 90000 l. for the Army. [g] *A Monthly Tax of* [g] Pag. 149.
 120000 l. [h] *An Imposition upon Coal.* [i] *A Monthly* [h] Pag. 153.
Assessment of 60000 l. Not to Clogge the Discourse with [i] Pag. 400.
 overmany Particulars: Wee'll see Next, What they have
 done toward the Moderating of the Power of Bishops, and
 the Removal of Unnecessary Ceremonies?

[k] *The Archbishop of Canterbury Suspended, and his Tempo-* [k] Pag. 42.
ralties Sequestred. [l] *Monuments of Superstition Demolish'd* [l] Pag. 53.
 (that is in Short an Ordinance for Sacriledge) [m] *The Book* [m] Pag. 75.
of Common Prayer laid aside, and the Directory commanded in
stead of it. [n] *Archbishops and Bishops Abolish'd, and their* [n] Pag. 99.
Lands settled in Trustees. [o] *Their Lands Expos'd to Sale.* [o] Pag. 101.
 [p] *Festivals Abolish'd.* [q] *Deans and Chapters &c. Abolish'd,* [p] Pag. 128.
And their Lands to be Sold. This is your way, my Masters, [q] Part. 2.
 of Moderating the Power of Bishops, and of removing un- Pag. 16.
 necessary Ceremonies; and at the same Rate you have pro-
 vided for Tender Consciences, witness Your Penalties
 [r] *for Using the Book of Common Prayer, and your Forfeitures* [r] Part. 1.
for not Using the Directory. Pag. 97.

Zea. Conformity; You should Do better, not to Rip up
these Old Stories again.

Conf. And if you would not hear of Them again, you
 should Leave Doing Them again.

Zea. Then it seems the whole Number must suffer for the
Misdemeanours of Particulars.

Conf. No; nor the whole Party scape because of some
 Particulars neither. Would you ha' me open my Door to
 a Troop of Thieves, because two or three of my honest
 Friends are in the Company? And That's the Case. Be-
 sides: You must permit me to distinguish betwixt Particu-
 lars and the Party; for the Party of Non-conformists,
 are in a Direct Confederacy against the Law; whereas there
 may be divers Particulars, that are mov'd only upon a Prin-
 ciple of Conscience. And those that are truly Conscien-
 tious, will be known by This; Their'll endeavour their own
 Satisfaction without any Importunities upon the Publique:
 for when they come once to joyn in a Complaint against
 the Law, 'tis no longer Conscience, but Faction. And
 the

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the Question is not Here, concerning the Integrity of certain *Individuals*, but how far a *Toleration* belongs to the *Party*, without any consideration of Persons.

Zea. Let us suppose then that the Party may have done amiss; I hope 'tis no Sin against the Holy Ghost.

Conf. Truly, with Reverence to *Charity*, I take it to be next a-kin to't, in very many of them. For, First; They sinn'd against an Evident *Light*, as appears from their several doublings, and contradictory Proceedings. Next; There was a *Malice*, Notorious; only I hope it went no further than God's *Vicegerent*. But I'll comply with the utmost of your Argument: You would have Those Indulg'd that *Repent*. With all my heart, if That will Content ye. For still upon That Condition, *not a Soul must be admitted that Refuses to Adjure the Covenant*: and There lies the very Pinch of the Question. For what the Covenant meant, every body knows, from the express *Practice*, and *Explication* of Them that made it. *The League and Covenant* (says *Rutherford*) *was the first Foundation of the Ruine of the Malignant Party in England*. And They that Impos'd it, Voted it Death for any man, *having taken it, to serve his Majesty*: So that whosoever Refuses to *Disown the Covenant*, must be Rationally supposed still to pursue the *Ends* of it. Which *Ends* are, *The Subjection of the Royal Authority to the Conclave of the Kirk*, and (in *Terminis*) *the Abolition of Episcopacy*; (which his Majesty has solemnly vow'd, and Resolv'd to Preserve) From whence it arises undeniably, that, *to Tolerate the Non-conformists that still adhere to the Covenant, is to Tolerate the Sworn Enemies both of Royal, and Episcopal Authority, and of the Peace of the Nation*: and in fine, to Tolerate Those that have sworn to persist in that Opposition *all the daies of their lives*.

From what is already said, it appears, *First*, That the Non-conformists are not yet Agreed what they would have, and I dare engage my self, to be his Slave that clears the Proposition, farther, then that they would have This Government unsettled, and they know not what in the Place

The Kirks
Testimony a-
gainst Tolera-
tion. Pag. 10.

Place on't. *Secondly*, It is manifest, that Impossible it is to Please them any longer, then while they are united in a Common Design upon us: for next to *Publique Order*, they are the deadliest Enemies one to another, as being Govern'd by *Inconsistent Principles*. *Thirdly*, It is past Dispute, that by virtue of That Favour which they now Aske, and under colour of Those Pretences which they now hold forth, They have render'd Themselves the Instruments of all our Late Miseries, and the Masters of the Three Kingdomes. *Fourthly*, It is not more Plain what they have done, then what they are now about to do; And, that that they have the same Design upon the *Publique*, at this Instant, which they had in 41, is past all Controversie.

Zea. Conformity, You out-run the *Conscience*, and you pretend to enter into *Mens Thoughts*?

Conf. No, I will not; but if I should see a man throwing Wild-fire into a *Magazine*, and he tells me that he does it to warm his Fingers; would not you take me for an Ass, if I should Believe him? No, no, my fair Friends! When ye see a Wise man, Frequently, and Deliberately, doing things that manifestly lead to evil Consequences, I think a very good Christian may suspect that his *Wife* is not so honest.

Zea. Come; no more of your High-frown Notions; but speak in good honest English: Where's the Wild-fire, and the Magazine that you would give us so learnedly to understand?

Conf. Where is it? Not rather, to any man that will but look about him, without winking? Is not That Sermon think ye that you sent me last Night a piece of Squib cast into a populous Town, that's Preach'd half to Gun-powder already?

Zea. And yet ye said E'en now, There was no danger.

Conf. I say the same Thing still: that is, without a Toleration.

Zea. But where's the Mischief of That Sermon? I beseech ye?

Conf. The Book lies there upon the Table, and 'tis Marqu'd to your Hand: but I'm not ready for it yet; just

you please, we'll look it over by and by; and speak a word in the meantime to the *Jus Talionis*, to the *Do as you would be done by* of the Matter.

You would be Tolerated by That Government, which of all Others, you your Selves refus'd to Tolerate; Stick now to your own Rule, and tell me, With what *Face* can ye Demand a Toleration, or for what *Sort* of People? Begin with your *Clergy*; would you have Them Indulg'd?

Lea. Yes, as They are Ministers of Gods Word, They ought to be Indulg'd.

Gosh. That can be no Plea for Them that persecuted Gods Ministers Themselves. Charity indeed is a General Duty; but it is an *Argument* that belongs only to Them that *Practise* it; For, They that never spar'd Any, cannot reasonably desire to be spar'd Themselves.

Scobell's Acts
Part. 2.
Pa. 340.

They are in the second place not to be Tolerated; upon the point of *Scandal*: For, [*Such are Declar'd scandalous, as by Writing, Preaching, or otherwise, publish their Disaffection to the present Government*] 'Tis their own Law, Gentlemen; and upon that score of Disaffection, was Introduced the most Barbarous Persecution of a Gospel-Ministry, that ever was heard of among Christians. I could Instance the Particulars of the Havock They made in London, the Two Universities, and finally throughout the Kingdoms. Particularly, in South-Wales; where They did not only Persecute The Ministry, but the very Gospel, by Shutting up their Churches, and Condemning the People to the Dictates and Corruptions of unbridl'd Nature. Nor was it enough to *Sequester*, unless They Starv'd Them too; For They were not permitted, to live either as *School-masters* or *Chaplains*, but upon severe Penalties: a Committee of *Middlesex* indeed, told Mr. *Lance* (a Reverend, and a Sequester'd Minister) that He might Hedge and Ditch for his Living (and that was the utmost of the Liberty They could Afford Them.) I could tell ye of the Ministers that were Poyson'd in *Peter-House*, &c. but I shall make ye sick, and weary: *Alhamd I* hope ye are already, to Plead for a Toleration of Those People
against

Toleration Discus'd.

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against the Law, that were Thus Mercyless toward their Brethren that Acted and Suffer'd for it. But to Seal up all with an Authority: Gillespy tells ye, that [The General Assembly hath ordain'd, that known Compliers with the Rebels, and such as did procure Protections from the Enemy, or keep Correspondence and Intelligence with him, shall be suspended from the Lords Supper, till they manifest their Repentance before the Congregation] So that ye see we were not only Debarr'd the Common Rights of Subjects, and Benefits of Society; but the very Comforts of our Religion were taken from us, and an Anathema pronounc'd upon us for our Loyalty; and yet these People think it high Reason to be Tolerated Themselves, and have the Confidence to Importune it from his most Sacred Majesty, to whose Blessed Father (and That in the Depth, and Bitterness of his Agonies) They cruelly Deny'd the Use, and Service of his own Chaplains. [A greater Rigour, and Barbarity then is ever us'd by Christians to the meanest Prisoners and Greatest Malefactors]

Bar (continues that Pious Prince) [They that Envy My being a King, are loth I should be a Christian; while they seek to Deprive Me of all things else; They are afraid I should save My Soul.]

Useful Case of
Conscience,
Ps. 19. & 20.

How Bar.
P. 207.

Ibid.

A word now to the Obligations we have to your Civil Authorities, as to the Freedom of our Persons and Estates. Visit but your own Acts, and be your own Judges, (but take the Crime along with ye; Obedience to God, to the King, and to the Law) Not to Enumerate your Particular, and Personal Outrages, as the Clapping of so many Honourable Persons aboard, and Designing Them for Slaves, because They would not Rebel; the Barbarous Treatment of betwixt Three and Four-score Worthy and Loyal Gen-

them in the Business of *Sabbury*, that were Shipp'd away and Sold (by *AN HONEST MAN*) to the *Berbrads*. Nor to Insist upon it, how many Honourable Persons have been Smother'd, and Sear'd in Gaols; how much Noble Blood hath been Spilt both in the Field; and upon the Scaffold, &c. I shall rather Confine my self to some few of your General Provisions for securing the Royal Party, and for the Extirpation both of that Line, and Government, to which Providence has now again Subjected ye: which (to run over them in short), shall be

- [a] Scob. Acts These [a] *An Ordinance for Sequestration of Delinquents Estates.* [b] *Delinquents Disabled to bear any Office, or have any Vote in Election of any Maior, &c.* Here's, Estate, and Legal Freedome, gone already: Now follows Banishment from [c] Pa. 135. One Place, and Confinement to Another. [c] *Delinquents must be Remov'd from London and Westminster, and Chancery within five Miles of their own Dwelling.* [d] Pa. 179. *Correspondency with Charles Stuart or his Party Prohibited under Pain of High Treason* and [e] *Death to any Man that shall Attempt the Revival of his Claims, or that shall be Aiding, Assisting, Comforting, or Abetting unto any Person Endeavouring to set up the Title of Any of the Issue of the Late King.* These were the Conditions of your *Paroles*, Gentlemen, and the *Trials of Our Faiths*.

If ye are not yet Convinc'd praye tell me, What was the Reason, that throughout the whole Course of your Power, ye Treated the *Episcopal Party* still worse then all the Rest?

Zea. Because They were the Most likely of all Others to Disturb our Settlement.

Conf. Very Good; and what do ye think as to Matter of Conscience? Did ye do Well, or Ill in't? or rather, Was there any thing of Conscience in the Case?

Zea. Truly I wish much if the Severity had been Abated; but certainly, it was very fit for the Civil Power to secure the Peace of the Nation; so was the Power Ecclesiastical no less concern'd to exact a Conformity to the *Laws and Ordinances of Christ*.

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Conf. Can you say This, and not blush to Deny the Force of your own Argument? If ye did well in refusing to Tolerate the *Episcopal Way*, because ye thought it not *Right*; the Reason is as strong on the *Other Side*, that have the same opinion Concerning *Yours*. If ye did well o'th' *Other Side*, out of a *Political Regard* to the *Publique Peace*, the same Reason lies as strong against ye *That Way* too: so that you must either Confess, that you did Ill *Then*, in Refusing a Toleration to *Us*, or allow that Authority does Well *Now*, in not permitting it to *You*. Do not mistake me. I am as much as any man (to borrow his Sacred Majesty's words) for

[*Those that cannot Conform, through Scruple, and Tenderness of misguided Conscience: and for Dissenters that Demean Themselves Peaceably and Modestly under the Government.* And That shall appear by and by, when we come to handle That Question.

Kings Declar.
Decemb. 26.
1662. Pa. 8.

His Majesty's
Speech to
Both Houses,
Feb. 18. 1662.

Zea. We're Agreed then, if *That* be your Opinion: and praye lei's forward to my Friends Sermon now. (*A Person whom I take to be within the Limit of your Profess'd Kindness.*)

Conf. A Match; and if you please, I'll Glosse upon him to you.

Lo: Eli *sate upon a seat by the way side, waiting: for his heart trembled for the Ark of God, 1 Sam. 4. 13.*

T Here's his Text; from whence he gathers *Two Observations.*

First, *When the Ark of God is in Danger to be lost, the People of God have thoughtful heads, and trembling hearts.* (Or, to put this Doctrine into a Gospel-Dress) *When the Gospel is in Danger of losing, when Gospel-Ordinances are in Danger of being lost, and Gospel-Ministers in Danger of losing, then the People of God have trembling heads, and careful and solicitous hearts about it.* Pa. 5.

Ibid.

Secondly, *A true Child of God is more troubled, and more solicitous what shall become of the Ark, than what shall become of Wife and Children, or Estate.*

Pa. 7.

He gives you in the next place, *Four Reasons, Why the People of God are so much Troubled when the Ark of God is in Danger.*

Pa. 8.

First, *For the great Love they bear to the Ordinances of God, and to the Faithfull Ministers of Christ. They cannot be sient; they cannot but Tremble when they see the Ark of God in Danger.*

Ibid.

Pa. 8.

Secondly, *They are Troubled, because of the Interest they have in the Ark. The Ordinances of God are the Jewels of a Christian, and the Treasures of a Christian, and the Loss of them cannot but Trouble them. And Jesus Christ is the Joy of a Christian, and therefore when Christ is departing, they cannot but be much afflicted at it.*

Pa. 9.

Thirdly, *They are Troubled because of their Accessari-ness to the losing of the Ark.*

Pa. 8.

Fourthly, *The People of God are Troubled because of the Mischiefs that come upon a Nation, when the Ark of God is Lost. The Tongue of man is not able to Express the Misery of That Nation where the Ark of God is Taken.*

Pa. 9.

First, *When the Ark of God is taken, then the wayes of Zion mourn, and none come to the Solemn Assemblies; It was the complaint of the Church, Lam. 1. 4. That is matter of sadness.*

Secondly, *The Ministers of Christ are then driven into Corners. And that is matter of heart-trembling.*

Thirdly, *The Souls of Many are then in Danger, when the Gospel is gone, your Souls are in hazard: There is cause of sadness.*

Fourthly, *The Enemies of God Blaspheme, and are ready to say, Where is your God? Then do the Enemies of God Triumph.*

Pa. 10.

Fifthly, *Then is Jesus Christ trampled under foot, and the Ordinances of God defiled and trampled on, and then Blasphemy and Atheism comes in like an Armed man.*

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Zea. Very good, and what can you make out of *All This*; but that *The Loss of the Gospel is a Dreadfull Judgment*: *The very Fear of Losing it, a Dismal Apprehension*; and that *All Other Interests are as Nothing in Competition with Jesus Christ*?

Conf. Agreed, Thus far all's Right, and as it should be; But come now to his *Application*.

The Ark of God is (at this instant) in Danger of being lost, D'y'ee see? Here is no less then All at Stake, the very first Dasha. Ask him now, Where the Danger lies? He Answers ye, that we have lost our first Love to the Gospel, and to the Ordinances. Is not This to Charge the Church of England with Apostacy? Hear him again; and let his Vanity against his Sedition. More particularly, Aldermanbury may truly fear the Loss of the Ark, and be Unchurched; for want of a Faithfull Minister to go In and Out before them. That is to say, Famous Mr. Calamy (for that Epithete he bestowes upon Himself) is Remov'd, and consequently the Candle-stick.

Pa. 11.

ibid.

Pa. 12.

Another thing that makes him fear the Loss of the Ark, is, *The Abundance of Priests, and Jesuits, that are in the midst of us, and the Preaching of Popery amongst us, and the Prone-ness of people to run headlong to the Garlick and Onions of Egypt again. But where are our old Eli's now, to sit watching and Trembling for fear of the Ark? Where are our Moses's, Our Elijah's? Our Uriahs, &c.*

Pa. 13.

Observe This Paragraph well. Here's first, an Open and Express Endeavour to Startle the People with a fear of *Popery*, which was the very Artifice by which This very Person promoted our Late Troubles.

Secondly, Here's a direct Arraignment of the King, and of his Ministers. Where are Our Moses's, &c. — What is This but to say, Beloved, ye see, *Jesus Christ is Departing, Idolatry is breaking In upon us, and Our Moses's, Our Ely's, never look after it. Pray'e lay it a little more to Heart, your selves. You can complain (says he) of Taxes, and Decay of Trading; of This Civil Burden, and That Civil Burden: but where's the Man or Woman that Complains of This Misery,*

ibid.

The

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The Loss of the Ark? Who lays to Heart, Who Regards what shall become of Religion? There is a strange kind of Indifference, and Lukewarmness upon most Peoples Spirits: so they may have their Trading go on, and Their Civil Burdens remov'd, they care not what becomes of the Ark.

What is This, but to bring *Authority* to the *Bar*, and set the *Subject* upon the *Bench*? What is it, but in plain Terms, to solicit the Multitude to a *Tumult*? For Mr. *Calamy* knows very well, that they have no other way in the world to do him a service in This Case, but by *Sedition*. And for fear of Mistakes, 'Note, I beseech ye, with what Care the Good man leads them to his Meaning: They can complain of *Taxes* he says, but Hee would have them Complain for the *Loss of the Ark*; That is, in honest *English*, He would have them *Clamour against the Government of the Church*. The very Truth is, This Gentleman speaks both upon *Experience*, and *Fore-sight*; for no man knows better, both what it has done, and what it may do. First, as to his *Fire-sight*, *Rebellion* can never be made God's Cause, but by taking the *Ark* into the *Quarrel*. Next, to his *Experience*. This Person was one of the *Five* that Menag'd the Cause of the *Rabble* against *Bishops*, some Twenty Years agoe. There was compleyning for fear of the *Ark* too: and what Ens'd upon it, but the *Dissolution* of the Government, the *Scandal of Religion*, and the *Murder of the King*? He Blames the People next for their *Lukewarmness*; Pray mark me; They have been once in Arms already since the King came in. They make no scruple at all of Affronting the *Law*: They have Enter'd into several Plotts upon the very Person of his *Sacred Majesty*, and All This, for fear of the *Ark*, as the poor Wretches miserably Imagine. If This Zeal be not sufficient, I wonder what Temper it is that our *Religious Salamander* would perswade them to: Now take the whole Matter in Complication, and you have

First, *A Prohibited Minister Preaching Publicly in Despite of a Solemn Law.*

Secondly,

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37.

Secondly, The Sermon it self is within the Reach of *The Act for the King's Safety*, Where **It is Enacted**, That what Person soever, shall Maliciously and Advisedly publish or affirm the King to be an Heretick or a Papist, or that he endeavours to Introduce Popery; or shall Maliciously and Advisedly, by Writing, Printing, Preaching; or other speaking, express, publish, utter or declare, any Words, Sentences, or other thing or things, to incite or stir up the people to Hatred or Dislike of the Person of his Majesty, or the Established Government; then every such person and persons being thereof Legally convicted, shall be Disabled to have or enjoy, and is hereby Disabled and made Incapable of having, holding, enjoying, or exercising any Place, Office, or Promotion Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military, or any other Imployment in Church or State, other than that of his Peerage, &c.

Thirdly, Here's not only a *Reproche* cast upon the Government, but an *Appeal* Offer'd to the People, for the Redress of it.

Now to proceed; You have him Here, Charging upon the Peoples Consciences, *the sin of not being sufficiently affected with the Danger that the Ark of God is in.*

Pa. 14.

It is a sign you do not Love the Gospel; if you had any Love to it, you would be troubled more for the danger of the Ark, then for any Outward Danger whatsoever.

Ibid.

Is not This, the very style and scope of --43. (I spare his former Hortatives to the Warr, even for the Credit of the Function,) *The Glory of God* (he sayes) *is Imbark'd in the same Ship which This Cause is in.* And

Sermon, Jub.
15. --43. pag.
53, & 51.

I

again,

Toleration Discuss'd.

again, [*When you are derided for hazarding Lives and Estates in This Cause, you must reply, It is for God, and his Religion. And what was This Cause,* I beseech ye, but the Foulest Conspiracy that ever appear'd under that Masque? (and Those are of all others, certainly, the Foulest.) Religion was Then in Danger, it seems: That is, the Presbyterian was not as yet sure in the Saddle; nor would That Obstinate and Implacable Faction ever be Quiet, till they forc'd their Sovereign to confute the Imposture with his Blood.*]

We have it now from the same Hand, that *the Ark is in Danger*, and what's that but *The Good Old Cause* over again, only a little vary'd in the Dress? By the *Ark*, he has already explain'd Himself to Intend, the Interest of the *Ejected Clergy* [Pa. 6.]; and what he means by pressing so deep a Concern for the *Danger* of it, let any sober man Imagine. He tells them first, that the *Ark* is in danger, and Then conjures them, as they Love the Gospel, not to Regard any *Outward Danger* whatsoever to save it. If This be not to *Invite, Provok,* and *Warrant* any Violence Imaginable, either upon the *Person* of the *King*, or upon the *Authority* of the *Law*, or wherever else the Multitude shall think fit to fasten the Quarrel; let me suffer the shame that belongs to him that's Guilty of such an Offence. Nor shall the Project want Hammering, for hee's over with it again and again, [*Let me beseech ye All to Declare you are the People of God in DEED, and in Truth, by following the Example of Old Eli, to be very solicitous for the Ark of God*—] [*Consider what a sad Condition we are in, if the Ark be Taken; What will your Estates doe ye Good, or all your Concernments do ye Good, if the Gospel be Gone?—What is the Glory of England; What is the Glory of Christianity but the Gospel? If the Gospel be Gone, our Glory is Gone.—Oh! when the Glory is Gone, who would Desire to Live?* He goes on, [*I am loth to tell you the story of Chryso- stom; he was but One Man, yet when he was banish'd Constantinople, the People all Petitioned for him, and said, They could as well lose the Sun out of the Firmament, as lose*

Pa. 16.

Pa. 17.

Pa. 17, & 18.



lose *Chrysostome* from among them. *Oh the sad, and lamentable, and woful Condition we are in, if the Ark of God be taken!*

Without any Force to his Meaning, take his Sense in few words. What will your *Lives*, or *Estates* avail ye, without the *Gospel*? Petition for your *Chrysostome* again. (Good Gentleman! as if the Sole Receptacle of the *Holy Ghost* were Mr. *Calamy's Night-cap*) Now to what End this Tends, let Any man look that is not blind. No Man runs the Risk either of his *Life*, or *Fortune*, for a *Petition*; so that his *Enforcing* so much, the *Contempt* of *Outward Dangers*, and of *all other Concernments*, in comparison with the Safety of the *Ark*, (which is now in Hazard) cannot Rationally be Apply'd to an Action that carries along with it No Danger at all. Wherefore you must of Necessity, Grant, that your friend either Meant *Nothing*, or *Worse*; and that his Pressing, and Disposing the Multitude to so great a contempt of their *Lives*, and *Fortunes*, was but a Tacit Encouragement of them to some Action that might bring Those Interests in Question.

Zea. I perceive, a Presbyterian is well helpt up that has you for his Interpreter.

Conf. Can you your self Acquit him?

Zea. I must confess, I think he might have Worded it with more Caution.

Conf. And then his Horrible, Unchristian, Bitterness against the Government,---- You have seen *Smectymnus* I suppose.

Zea. Yes, yes; He is a little Eager in his Way.

Conf. Come, *Zeal*; I'll Disabuse ye: What will you say, if I bring you to a Person, that shall Averse to Mr. *Calamy's* Face, that since his Majesty's Return, He has Declar'd Himself not Unsatisfy'd with the Government, and Discipline of the Church of *England*, and that only the Importunity of his Parishioners Diverted Him from accepting a *Bishoprick*? You will the less wonder at This when ye Consider, how Absolutely he was For

the Church, till he found it more Beneficial to be *A-*
gainst it.

Zea. All that I shall say, is This; Let every man speak as
he finds: and so, if you please, wee'll leave him to take his For-
tune.

S E C T. X.

Arguments against TOLERATION in Respect of the Authority that is to Grant it.

Conf. **C**OME Gentlemen, I have yet one Exception
more to your Toleration, and That is upon the
Accompt of the Authority that is to Grant it. From whom
doye Expect it?

Zea. From the Parliament.

Conf. But what is't you call a *Parliament*? for, one while
the King and the Two Houses in Co-ordination are a *Par-*
liament; and when Ye have Screw'd out the Kings *Nega-*
tive Voyce, The Lords and Commons are a *Parliament*; and
Then down go the Lords, and the Commons alone are a
Parliament; and at Last, Out with Them too, For the Foun-
tain of Dominion is in the People. This is the Scale of
your Politicks. But to the Point in hand; You Apply to
the *Parliament*, and your Grievance is Matter of *Consci-*
ence; Do ye make the Civil Power a Judge of *Consci-*
ence?

Zea. No, under Favour, My Desire that the Parliament
will Relieve my Conscience, does not Consequently make it a
Judge of it.

Conf. And with Your Pardon too, How shall the Magi-
strate know whether your Conscience is oppress'd, or no,
if he be no Judge of it? One of these Two Rules He is

to proceed by ; Either That of his *own Particular*, or the General Rule of *all Consciences*. If He measure your Conscience by the *Former*, there's no Oppression in the Case ; for *His* Conscience is very well satisfy'd in That which will not down with *Yours*. If by the *Latter*, All other Consciences would be Concern'd as well as *Yours*, in the Violation of a General Rule : So that Evidently, your Scruples are Singular, and if you cannot bring them within his *Cognizance*, you must Subject them to his *Authority* ; and First teach him to *Know* when your Conscience is troubled, before ye *Complain* because 'tis not *Eas'd*.

Scrup. For That, Every man tells his *owne* Tale best, and may best be Credited in That which No body knows but Himself.

Conf. And under That Colour, so Many Men as make no Conscience at all of an *Imposture*, shall pretend to make one of a Ceremony. Peruse the Tragedies of our *Holy Leagues*, *Covenants*, and *Reformations* : What Crime so Execrable that has not been Committed under the Motto of *Gods Cause*, and Patronage of Conscience ? What Act so Horrid, that has not pass'd for a *Divine Impulse* ; and (if it Hit) the Author of it for an *Inspired Instrument of Justice* ? Nay more ; nor One Notorious Practice of a Hundred, upon the Person of a Prince, but under a Religious Vernish ; and Commonly, a *Priest* at the *Que* End of it, and an *Impulse* at the *Other*.

Was it not a *Holy Father* and the *Prior* of the *Covent* (one of the Heads of the League) that Confirm'd *Clement* in his Purpose of Murdering *Harry the Third* of *France* ? For his Encouragement ; They Assur'd him, that if he out-liv'd the Fact, he should be a *Cardinal* ; if he Dy'd, a *Saint* : and This was it that fixt him in his Determination. What was it again, that Originally Dispos'd this Monster to That Direful Villany ; but principally *Seditious Sermons* against the King as a *Persecuting Tyrant* ? [Stimolato dalle predicationi, che giornalmente sentiva fare contra *Henrico di Valois*, acmi nato il persecutore della fede, & il Tiranno, &c.] See in the

*Davila Delle
Guer. Civ. di
Fran. Lib. 10.*

Ibid.

Lib. 14.

same Author, the Confession of *John Castle*, concerning his Attempt upon *Harry the Great*, which was, that he had been brought up in the Jesuites School, and Instructed, that it was not only Lawful, but Meritorious to Destroy Harry of Bourbon, that Revolted Heretick and Persecutor of the Holy Church [*Esaminato con le solite forme, confesso liberamente, &c.*] What was it that Animated *Ravillac* to his Damn'd Practice upon that Brave Prince, but (by his own Confession) a Discourse of *Mariana's*, *De Rege, & Regis Institutione*? 'Twas a Divine Instinct too, that Mov'd *Balsrada de Bello thasar Gerard* to Destroy the Prince of *Aurange* [*Divina Belgico Lib. 5. tantum Instinctu id a se patratum constanter Affirmabat, diu Tortus, &c.*] To conclude with that Fresh and Horrible Instance here at *Home*; Acted upon the Sacred Person of the Late King. What was it, but the Operation of That Poyson in the People, which was Instill'd into them by their Ministers? How Inconsistent then is the Liberty of the Pulpit, with the Safety of the Government? and how Great a Madness were it to Expect, that the same Persons should Establish This Prince by virtue of the same Liberty by which They Ruin'd the Last?

You cannot certainly but Confess the Hazard to his Sacred Majesty of Granting a Toleration; take a little Notice now, of the Indignity in proposing it. That Grace which were an Ample Reward even for the most Meritorious Services, and Loyalty, do These People Mutinously Demand as a *Requit*al for the Contrary.

Scrup. *Will ye oppose the Exercise of a Charity, because it may be Abus'd.*

Conf. No, but I shall Oppose the Encouragement of a Confidence that Presses to be Requited for an Injury: and in truth, Your Petition properly taken, is rather a *Mischery* then a *Request*. As for the Purpose, What is't ye stick at?

Scrup. *The Act for Uniformity.*

Conf. Is it the *Model*, or the *Uniformity* that troubles you?

Scrup. *Why truly I Except to Both; for Neither is the Particular*

Particular Act fram'd to my satisfaction, nor is it possible, that any One Form of Worship should suit All Judgments.

Conf. Will Toleration suit All Judgments any better then Uniformity? Or do ye accompt the Sanction of any One Form Whatsoever, to be Lawfull?

Scrup. Indeed I do not think it lawfull for a Magistrate to Enjoyn any thing upon a Penalty, which a Private Person may not lawfully obey him in; nor do I think it Warrantable for a Man to Obey any Humane Command against his Conscience.

Conf. Now lay together what you have said; First, It is not Possible, that any One Form of Worship should suit All Judgments; and then it is not lawfull to Enjoyn any thing upon a Penalty, which does not suit All Judgments. What is This but a meer Trifling of Government, to suppose a Law without an Obligation? Again; If the Magistrate cannot Impose, neither can he Tolerate; unless you suppose him a more Competent Judge of Your Conscience, then of his Own: for you Allow him the Cognisance of what he may Tolerate, and Deny him the Knowledge of what he may Impose. In fine, Your Arguments, and Opinions, duely weigh'd, his Majesty has either no Power, or no Reason to permit you a Toleration; No Power, as You state his Capacity, and no Reason as you Disclaim his Supremacie.

Scrup. I do not Oppose the Coactive Power of the Civil Magistrate; in Matters of Civil Concernment; but I take the Case in Question to be of Another Quality, and out of the Verge of the Secular Jurisdiction.

Conf. I think it will become you then, not to Importune his Majesty for the Dissolving of an Ecclesiastical Law, before you acknowledge him Vested with the Right of Making it.

Ze. If you think fit; let that Point be the Next Question.

Conf. Agreed; it shall.

SECT. XI.

The Proper Subject and Extent of Humane Power.

Conf. **A**S Reasonable Nature consists of Soul, and Body; so is the Authority that Governs it, *Divine* and *Humane*; God, Eminently over All, and Princes Ministerially under Him, and as His Substitutes. The Dominion of our Souls God reserves peculiarly to Himself, committing That of our Bodies to the Care of the Magistrate. Now if Power be a *Divine Ordinance*, so consequently is Subjection; for, to Imagine the One without the Other, were to Destroy the Ratio of Relatives. A sober Disquisition of This Matter, would save much Trouble that arises about the *Bounds* and *Limits* of our Duty; how far Religion binds us, and how far Allegiance. That they are severable, we must not doubt, for Truth it self hath said it; Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's. But that They are only so severable, as never to become Inconsistent, is founded upon the same Immovable Rock, Let every soul be subject, &c.-- a Precept of a Perpetual, and Universal Operation, and Limited neither to Time, Place, nor Persons.

Ze. Your Deduction of Government, and Subjection from Divine Institution, is well enough Conced'd, and that we are to Obey the Magistrate for God's sake, and in subordination to God, is Easily Prov'd, and Granted; but I hear Nothing yet of the Particular Bounds and Terms of Humane Jurisdiction, What 'tis belongs to God, and What to Caesar.

Conf. That I confess, is the Pinch of the Question; for One Duty comes up so close to the Other, that 'tis not for Every Common Eye to passe between them. Effectually

Effectually, they *Touch*; but, in what *Point*, is of a *Nice Decision*. The Readiest way in my opinion, to the strict Knowledge of our Duty, is by the *Laws* and *Powers* of the *Authority*; for, 'tis Requisite that a Man *know* the Rule, before he can *Observe* it. Wee are then to Consider, that the Almighty Wisdom has Invested *Kings* with an *Unlimited Power* of *Commanding*, or *Forbidding*, in all matters which *God himself* has not either *Commanded*, or *Forbidden*; which Proposition Resolves it self into This Conclusion,

Whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is the subject of Humane Power. The Subject of Humane Power.

Scrup. Does not That Opinion destroy Christian Liberty?

Conf. No: but the Denyal of it Destroyes *Magistracy*. If Kings have not *This Power*, they have none at all; and it Implies a Contradiction, to suppose any Authority in Nature without it.

Scrup. But may not a Prince tie himself up in a Thing Otherwise Indifferent?

Conf. I speak of Power according to the Institution, not of Power limited by Paſſion.

Scrup. May not the same thing be Indifferent to One, and not so to Another?

Conf. Granted; and I pray'e follow it a little further. May not every thing Imaginable appear Non-Indifferent to some or other; if nothing can be commanded, but what upon such a Phanſy may be Disobey'd?

Scrup. Pardon me, I do not speak of Matters of Civil Concern, but of Matters of Religion.

Conf. That's all a Case; for you cannot Instance in any One Civil Action, that may not be made Relative to Religion. But stick to the Mark; We are upon the Extent of *Humane Power*: That there is such a Power; and That Authoris'd too by God Himself, You have already granted: Now tell me, Upon what shall That Power be Exercis'd, if you Exclude things Indifferent? One man may have a *Reall* Scruple; and All the Rest, *Protest* one; Who shall Distinguish? So that the Rule holding from One, to

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All, the Sacred Authority of the Prince becomes Dependent upon the Pleasure of the Subject, and the Validity of a Divine and Unchangeable Ordinance, is subjected to the Mutable Judgement and Construction of the People.

Scrup. *It may be You Expect the Magistrate should as well have a Power of Judging what's Indifferent, as of Restreyning it.*

Conf. You may be sure, I do; for otherwise I'm where I was, if I make *You* the Judge: Is't not all one, as to the Magistrate, Whether you Refuse upon Pretense that the Thing is not Indifferent, or upon Pretense that he cannot Restreyn a Thing Indifferent? The *Crime* indeed is differing in the *Subject*; for the *One* way 'tis an *Usurpation* of Authority, and the *Other* way, 'tis a *Denyall* of it.

Scrup. *Why then it seems, I am to Believe any thing Indifferent, which the Magistrate tells me is so, be it never so Wicked.*

Conf. No; There You 're bound up by a Superiour Law.

Scrup. *Have you forgot your self so soon? 'Twas but just now, you would not allow me to be a Judge, and here you Make me One.*

Conf. Right; to your self you are, but not to the *Publique*: A Judge of your own *Thought*, but not of the *Law*.

Scrup. *At your rate of Arguing now from One to All; Authority, methinks, should be as much Endanger'd This way, as the Other; for All may Judge Thus, as well as One.*

Conf. 'Tis possible they May; Nay wee'll suppose an Impolition foul Enough to move them all to do so; and yet there's a Large Difference; for, *Diversity of Judgment* does not shake the *Foundation of Authority*; and a man may *Disobey* a *sinful Command* with great *Reverence* to the *Power* that *Imposes* it.

Scrup.

Scrup. You were saying even now, that my Duty to God, and to the King, could ne^or be Inconsistent: Pray'e, How shall I behave my self, if the Prince Commands One thing, and God, Another? I cannot Observe the Law, without Violence to my Conscience, nor Discharge my Conscience, without Offence to the Law; What Course shall I take to avoid Entering?

Conf. Demean your Self as a Christian toward the Law of God, on the One hand; and as a Subject, toward the Ordinance of God on the Other: as Considering that you are Discharg'd of your Obedience, but not of your Subjection.

Scrup. Suppose the Supreme Magistrate should by a Law Establish a False Worship.

Conf. Hee's still your Prince, and even in This Complication, you may acquit your self both to God, and Caesar. Divide the Worship from the Magistrate, and in so doing, you both Fear God, and Honour the King; and it is only This Loyal and Religious Separation of our Duties, that must set us right in the Main Controversie. Where do ye find that Kings Reign upon Condition of Ruling Righteously? Or that we owe them less After Misgovernment, than we did Before?

Scrup. But do ye say, we are bound to Honour an Idolatrous Prince?

Conf. Yes, yes: the Prince you are bound to Honour, though not as an Idolater. Shall the Vice or Error of the Person, blemish the faultless Dignity of the Order? By That Rule, the world must Continue without a Government, till we can find Men without Failings.

Scrup. So that you allow I perceive of Distinguishing betwixt the Person and the Office.

Conf. Betwixt the Frailty of the One, and the Sacredness of the Other, I do: for Kings Command as Gods, though they Judge as Men: but I do no more allow of Dividing the Person of a Prince from his Authority, then of Dividing his Soul from his Body.

Scrup. And, I beseech ye, what is that which you Call Authority?

Toleration Discuss'd.

Conf. To tell ye Only that it is *Gods Ordinance*, falls short, I believe, of the Scope of your-Question. Wherefore take This in Surplusage. *It is the Will and Power of a Multitude, Deliver'd up by Common Consent to One Person or More, for the Good and Safety of the Whole :* and this Single or Plural Representative Acts for All. Take This along with ye too. The Disposition of such or such a Number of Persons into an Order of Commanding and Obeying is That which we call a *Society*.

Scrup. *What is the Duty of the Supreme Magistrate ?*

Conf. To procure the Welfare of the People, or, according to the Apostle ; *He is the Minister of God, for a Comfort to Those that Do Well, and for a Terror to Evil-Doers.*

Scrup. *How far are his Lawes binding upon his Subjects ?*

Conf. So far as They that parted with their Power had a Right over Themselves.

Scrup. *Whence was the Original of Power, and what Form of Government was First, Regal, or Popular ?*

Conf. Power was Ordain'd of God, but Specify'd by Man ; and beyond doubt, the First Form of Government was Monarchique.

Scrup. *Nay, Certainly the Popular Form was first, for How could there be a King without a People ?*

Conf. So was the Son before the Father (you'll say) for How could there be a Father without a Son. But the Question is *First*, Was the World ever without a Government, since the Creation of Man ? *Secondly*, Whether was first in the World, *One Man*, or *More* ? I see well enough what 'tis You'd be at ; You would fain advance the *Popular Form* above the *Regal* : which if ye could, 'twere Nothing to our purpose ; for we are not upon the *Form of Government*, but upon the *Latitude of Humane Jurisdiction*, be the Sovereignty where it will ; and that it extends to whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is my Assertion. If you *Deny This*, You Overthrow *All Government*, (as is already prov'd) and if you *Grant* it, we are at Liberty for the next Enquiry which is concerning,

S E C T. XII.

The Bounds of TOLERATION; with
some Reflections upon SCHISM, and
SCANDAL.

Conf. **I**T is already agreed, that Government is a Divine *Eccles. Polit. Ordinance*; and Order (according to the Reverend *Lib. 1. Pa. 7.* Hooker) is only, *A Manifestation of the Eternal Law of God.* So that I think, a Man may safely pronounce (upon This Allowance) First, that *What Principle soever is Manifestly Destructive of Government, or but rationally tending to Confusion, cannot be of God.* Secondly, *Every Man is to Content himself in his Station as being no farther accountable, than for what's committed to his Charge.* Under These Two Heads will be found (if I mistake not) whatsoever belongs to the *Political Part* of our Debate.

We are here to enquire, not how far Toleration may be Convenient, or otherwise; but how far Warrantable and Lawful: and I find it (by a Reverend, and Learned Prelate) brought to This Standard, [*In the Question of Toleration, The Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be Secur'd.*] Wherein is compris'd a Provision and Care, that we may live as *Christians* toward God; as *Members of a Community* toward one another; and as *Loyal Subjects* toward our Sovereign. Now if you'll admit Opinions to be only so far Tolerable as they Consist with These Duties of Religion, Morality, and Society, We have no more to do, but to apply Matters in Controversie to the Rules of Piety, and Good Manners, and to the Ends of Government.

Scrup. 'Tis True; were Men Agreed upon Those Rules: But we see Several Men have Various apprehensions of the same

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thing; and that which One Man takes for a Rule, Another Counts an Error.

Conf. By your Argument, we shall have no Religion, because Men Differ about the Right; No Bible, because Men Disagree about the Meaning of it: No Rule, in fine, at all to square our Actions by, All Truth, and Reason shall be Establish'd by a Popular Vote.

The Law says Worship Thus, or So; use This Form, That Ceremony, Posture, Habit, &c. --- The Libertine cries No, 'tis a Confinement of the Spirit; an Invention of Man; a Making of That Necessary which God left Free; a Scandal to Tender Consciences, &c. --- And Here's Authority Concluded, as to the Manner of Worship.

So for the Time. How do They know when Christ was Born, or Crucify'd? Nay, They have much adoe to call to Mind when the Late King was Murder'd: but the Relief of Taunton, and the Repulse They gave the Cavaliers at Lyme: This They can very well Remember, and Celebrate Those Daies of Mercy with a most Superstitious Gravity, and Form. The Churches Fasting-Daies, They make their Jubilees; and still it happens, that Their Consciences and the Law, run Counter.

'Tis the same Thing, as to the Place; Command Them to Church; They'll tell ye, there's no Inherent Holiness in the Walls; the Hearts of the Saints, are the Temples of the Lord. Is not God to be found in a Parlour, as well as in a Steeple-House? In fine, What's their Plea for All This; but that, This is One Mans Judgment, That, Another's: This or That may be Indifferent to You, but not to Mee. What's Indifference to Christianity? This sickly Humour opens a door to as many Controversies as there are Men; it leaves Authority, naked; and exposes the Law to any mans Scorn, that shall think fit to Scruple his Obedience.

To conclude; This Lawless Liberty, Razes the very Foundation

foundation of Government; it creates as many Religions, as there are several Phantasies; and, briefly, the Assertors of This Liberty are of the Number of Those that are not upon any Terms to be admitted within the Pale of a Toleration.

Scrup. *Shall the Magistrate make me Act against my Conscience?*

Conf. *Shall the Subject make Him Tolerate against His?*

But to proceed; There are that place [a] the Sovereignty in the Diffusive Body of the People, that hold it Lawfull for the Subjects to enter into Leagues and Covenants, not only Without the Sovereign's Consent, but Against his Authority; that call upon the People in the Pulpit, [b] to Assist the Forces raised by the PARLIAMENT, according to their Power and Vocation, and not to Assist the Forces raised by the KING, neither DIRECTLY nor INDIRECTLY: That Proclaym [c] the Treach of the National Covenant, to be a greater sin, than a sin against a Commandment, or against an Ordinance——a sin of so high a Nature, that God cannot in Honour but be Aveng'd upon't.

[a] Parker, Goodwin, Rusherford, Milton, &c.

[b] E. cal. Noble-mans Pattern, pa. 45.

[c] E.C. Pt. c. n. x, pa. 158, & 159.

These are a People likewise, whose Principles stand in no Consistence either with Piety or with Government; and can as little Pretend to the Benefit of a Toleration as the Firmer.

There are that Affirm, [d] Reformation of Religion to be the People's Duty no Less than the King's: [e] and that the Pastors of the Land are Oblig'd to Reform Themselves and Religion without the King; nay, though the King command the contrary.

[d] Rusherford's Due Right of Presbytery, Pa. 485.

[e] Ibid. p. 488.

There are that Print [f] the English Episcopal Clergy to be the sons of Belial; that Press the Cutting of them off; that scandalously Charge Them with Drunkenness, Profaneness, Superstition, Popishness: To the Dishonour of that Government which his Majesty has sworn to Maintain, and to the Hazard of the Publique Peace. These also do I take to be a People, whose Practices and Opinions Threaten a certain and swift Destruction both to Church and State, Wherever They are Tolerated. What security

[f] Mr. Man-son's Smectym-nus, Publish'd since his Majesties Return, pa. 58.

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rity can a Prince expect, where his *Mistakes* are made the common Theme of the *Pulpit*, and where His *Regalities* are subjected, to the Good Pleasure of His *Subjects*.

Ze. You do not think it Lawfull then I perceive, to Tolerate the Non-conformists.

Conf. Till they renounce their *Seditious*, and *Anti-Monarchical* wayes, I must confess I do not.

Ze. And which are Those I beseech ye?

Conf. Their *Inconformity* to the Law; Their *Doxtrine* of *Conditional Obedience*: Their *Erecting* an *Ecclesiastical Supremacy* to overtop the *Prerogative Royall*; To say no more, Their *Declaring* the *Magistrate* accomptable to the People.

Scrup. Conformity, You have spoken some sharp Truths, and it is to be presum'd that you'll Allow the Liberty you Take. Whether do you believe Scandal to be any more Tolerable, than Schism? Or, are not the Sons of the Church (as ye call them) as Guilty of the One, as the Non-conformists are of the Other.

Conf. Scandal, My good Friend, is a General Term; especially as you frequently apply it: and 'tis but Reason for me to ask your *Meaning*, before I give you my Answer. To say, that the Sons of the Church are Guilty of Scandal, when, *eo nomine*, they appear to you Scandalous, is no more then to say, that the Sons of the Church are the Sons of the Church: for, the Church it self, the Government, and the Rites of it, are All, Scandalous to You. Wherefore I beseech ye, be a little more Particular, that I may understand what Scandal you intend, and be as plain, as playn may be.

Scrup. Nay, you shall have it then, and as plainly too as your Heart can wish. Your Position is, that No Toleration can warrantably be Granted to the Hazard of Religion, Good Life, and Government.

According to That Standard, You'd find, that the Conformists have as little Right to a Toleration, as their Neighbours; and that the Notorious Scandal on the One side,

out-

out-weighs the Pretended Schism on the Other. But, to make my self understood; by Scandal, I mean Publique and Habitual Prophaneness, Sensuality, Dissolution of Manners, &c.----- as, by Schism and Sedition, I suppose You intend our Incompliances with your Church-Discipline: Our Preaching up the Power of Godliness, against the Form of it, (which You Interpret to be a Decrying of your Ceremonies) and our Exhortings, rather to obey God than Man, (which you are apt to take for an Affront to your Master's Pterogative.)

'Tis true; We cannot bring up our Consciences to your Ceremonies, and, for Refusing to doe, what we cannot Justifie the Doing of, we are Baptiz'd, Schismaticques. This Extermination of Us from the Publique Assembly, puts us upon the Necessity of Private Meetings; and There We are Charg'd with Plotts, and Practices upon the State. Take it all at the Worst, It is but doing That which the Whole World agrees must Necessarily be done, after such a Manner as sin: People Imagine we ought not to do it. So much for the Schism of the Non-Contormills. Now put the Scandal of the Adverse Party into the Other Scale, and You Your self shall hold the Ballance.

Set but Your Tavern-Clubs against Our Conventicles, and (since you will have it so) Oppose our Plotts against the Government in the One, to your Combinations against God Himself in the Other; (for Atheism is become the Sport, and Wit; the Salt of your most Celebrated Entertainments.) In Your own Words, [The Eternal Verity is made a Fable; Religion but a Scar-Crow, (the sower Impression of a Superstitious Melancholy,) nor, is't enough to Abandon Heaven, unless ye Invade it too; and in the Throne of Providence, set up the Empire, and Divinity, of Fortune. When you have dash'd the Bible out of Countenance, with the conceit of The Three Grand Impostors, or some such rare piece of Drolle-ry, (and all This Enterlarded with Execrable, and study'd Blasphemyes) the Man must be cast off, as well as the Christian; and there's the Upshot of your Familiar Conversations. If such People as These may be Tolerated, where's

Toleration Discuss'd.

your Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government?

Conf. We are fallen, I must confess into a *Lowd Age*; and yet truly, when I consider, that This Nation has been Twenty years under *your Tuition*, 'tis a Greater Wonder to me; that it is not quite *Overspread* with *Atheism*, than to find it Only *Tainted* and *Infectet* with it. The Reproche and Load of This Impiety, you have cast upon the *Episcopal Party*: but when we come to Trace the Monster to his Den, I'm afraid we shall bring the Footsteps of Him up to your own Dore.

That there are Exorbitants in *all* Perswasions, is a Thing not to be doubted; and that there are in *ours* as well as in *Others*, I will not Deny; but to Asperse the *Cause* for *Personal Misdemeanours*, is, to my thinking, very Dilligenuous. If ye will Charge *Personal Crimes* upon the Account of a *Party*, You should be sure to Make out Those Crimes to be Rationally Consequent to the *Tenents*, or *Actings*, of That *Party*. Now if you can shew me Any Affinity betwixt *our Principles*, and *Those Villanyes*, you say something; but if ye cannot, the Dust of your Argument puts out your own Eyes.

Scrup. You forget that you Condemn your own Practice; for why may not I Charge *Personal Extravagancies* upon your *Party*, as well as You do it upon *Ours*?

Conf. Only because there is not That *Affinity* (as I said but now) betwixt the *Principles* of the *Party*, and the *Faults* of the *Persons*; on the *One* side, which I find on the *Other*. To make This as Clear as the Day, wee'l open it Thus.

The *Episcopal Party* was for the *King*, and 'tis undeniable, that the *King*, and the *Church*, had both the *same Cause*, and the *same Fate*. The *Nonconformists* were against the *King*; and it is There as unquestionable, that *They* were the Men that Destroy'd both *Church*, and *State*. So that the Issue lies within This Compass; Whether the *Soveraignty* be in the *King*, or in the *People*? If in the *King*, the Rebellion was on *your* side; if in the *People*, the Guilt

Guilt of the Warr lyes upon us. Now place the Power where ye please; Do ye own the Kings Authority, or do ye Disclaim it? If ye Disclaim it, why do ye Petition to your Inferiour? or why should the King favour his Compeitioners? If ye Acknowledge it, Wee'l proceed upon This Grant, that the Non-Conformists were in a Rebellion; and prove that all the Transcendent Abominations which you Compleyn of, are but the proper, and Natural Fruits, that have proceeded from That Root.

Ze. You know there have been several Popular Tracts written upon This Subject; as ---- some-bodys Sovereign Power of Parliaments. Rusherford's Lex Rex, &c. that never were Answer'd yet.

Conf. Well said Old True-penny. I think the Assemblyes Letter to the Reformed Churches, was never Answer'd neither. But, to be serious. There are indeed many dangerous, and seditious Treatises that lye unanswer'd (the more's the shame, and Pity.) If no body were wiser then my self; The sum of them All should be Confuted in one just Volume, and the Origina's committed to the Fire, for the security of the Future.

Scrup. But you were about to tell us how Rebellion begets Atheism.

Conf. Well Remembred; and I pray'e Observe. There are but Two sorts of People that are Capable of being drawn into a Rebellion, the Weak and the Wicked; Those that do not understand what they doe, and Those that care not what they doe. The Ordinary State, is Religion; the Scene of This spiritual Imposture is the Pulpit, and the Arbitrators of the Cause are the Preachers; by the benefit of which Coniuncture, (to wit) of the Weight of the Matter in Question; [Religion] with the Authority appoynted to Determine it; [God's Ministers] it is no hard bulinesse for a Painfull and Well-affected Ministry (That is, Painfull, and well-affected in, and to the Design) to Preach the Generality of the People into This Division: [i. e.] Those that cannot reach the Cheat to scruple at every thing; and Those that go along with it, to make a Conscience of No-

thing: and hence it comes, that This Kingdome is so Pester'd with *Enthusiasts*, and *Atheists*.

Zea. But I tell ye again; the *Atheists* are on the wrong side: The *Atheists* are Against us.

Conf. Let me Enform ye then, that Your Proceedings have Made *Atheists*, More waies then One.

First, The Meer Quality of your Cause, has made *Atheism* the Interest of Many of Your Partakers; Who to put off That Horror which attends them if there be a God, Endeavour to perfwade themselves that there is no God at all.

Secondly, The Work has been carried on under the Masque of *Holiness*; and the most Desperate *Atheist*, is nothing else but a *Crusted Hypocrite*. I speak of your Religious *Atheist*, who has This odds of the *Prophane*, and *Scoffing Wretch*, that he abuses God to his Face, and in his own House. The Great *Atheists*, indeed, are *Hypocrites* (sayes Sir Francis Bacon) which are ever handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; so as they must needs be *Canteriz'd* in the End. It is Remarquable, (as I have elsewhere observ'd) that in the Holy Scripture there are not so many *Woes* pronounc'd, nor so many *Cautions* Inculcated, against any Sort of People as against *Hypocrites*. You shall There find that God has given the Grace of Repentance to *Persecutors*, *Idolaters*, *Murtherers*, *Adulterers*, &c. but I'm mistaken if the whole Bible Yields any one Instance of a *Converted Hypocrite*.

Thirdly, Let me tell ye, for the Honour of your Practices, that as to the Defence of *Atheism*, you have done more then All that ever went before ye; upon that Noble Argument. Your People were not [a *WICKED, PROPHANE, DRUNKEN Ministry* (They would never have Seald the Ark) but *SOBER, PIOUS, GODLY Ministers*, that did the Feat: — a *Praying, and Reforming People*. Indeed a People that would Seize a Brother's Benefice with more Reverence, then Any of our Prelates gives a Charity.

Zea. Be not severe, Conformity.

Conf.

Conf.

Essay of Atheism.

E. Calam.
Serm, Dec. 18.
1661, Pa. 21.

Pa. 19.

Conf. Then bid your Brethren leave their *Gibbrish*, and their *Jugling*; and wee'll to our *Atheism* again. Answer me Soberly, What if a State should grant a *Toleration*, for all men to talk of God-Almighty as they please?

Scrup. *A Horrid, Impious Proposition!*

Conf. *Thou art the Man, Scruple*; That which you Ask is more and worse; for the *Liberty* is the *same*, and the *Danger* Infinitely *Greater*. In Earnest, He that Looks narrowly through our Late Troubles, from 1640 to 60. will find Matter not Only to Stagger a Weak Christian, but to put a Wise man to a Second Thought; and to make him Exclaim with the Prophet, [*Lo, These are the Ungodly*, *Psal.* 73. v. 12. *these prosper in the World, and these have Riches in possession---* Then have I cleansed my heart in Vain, and washed my hands in Innocency.

To see Nye, and Marshall with their hands lifted up unto the Lord in a Holy Covenant; Swearing to Day to Defend and Preserve the King's Majesty's Person, &c. and a while after with the same Consecrated Lips, Blessing That Cursed Vote, that Manifestly Led to His Destruction (The Vote of *Non-Addresses*) which was no more then saying Grace to the Kings Bloud. To see a Gang of *Pulpit-Weather-cocks* Shifting from *Party* to *Party*, till they have run through every point of the Compass, *Swearing*, and *Counter-swearing*; and when the City was Split into more *Factions*, then *Parties*, Still to Mainteyn, that the whole Schism was acted by the Holy-Ghost. To find the Pulpit in stead of Plain and Saving Truths Trading Only in *Dark* and *Oraculous Delusions*, and the Pretended *Messengers of Peace*, turn'd Agents for *Bloud* --- To hear and see All This, and More, and the Cause Prosper too. What could the Wit of Man add more to This Temptation to *Apostasy*?

Lastly, I must Impute much of That Iniquity which now Reigns, to your *Necessitated Toleration*: I call it *Necessitated*, for you could never have Crush'd the Government without it. That Toleration started so Many Lewd Opinions, that it was Some Degree of Modesty, for Fear of a *Worse Choyce*, to be of *No Religion at all*; and beyond

Question,

Toleration Discus'd.

Question, Many People finding it left so Indifferent of *what* Religion they were ; became Themselves as Indifferent, whether they were of *Any* Religion or no.

You have forc'd me here, in My own Defence, to be a little Sharper then I intended ; and truly since we are *In* thus far, and that the *Schismaticks* think it so Mighty a matter to hit the *Prelatical Party* i'th' teeth at every Turn, with the Imputation of *SCANDAL* ; I beseech ye tell me,

Which o'the Two do you count the more Tolerable, *SCANDAL*, or *SCHISM* ?

Scrup. *If by Schism you mean, a Refusal to joyn with That Church where I cannot Communicate without Sin : and if you intend by Scandal, such Actions as are of Ill example, and administer occasion to your neighbour of Falling, I think 'tis easily Determin'd, that the One is not to be Suffer'd, and the Other not to be Condemn'd.*

Conf. When I speak of *Schism*, and *Scandal*, let not me be understood, to speak of This or That *Sort*, or *Degree* of Either ; but in the Just Latitude both of the *One*, and the *Other* : That is ; without more Circumstance, Which do you take for the more Tolerable Mischief of the Two ?

Scrup. *Truly betwixt a Perverse Separation, and a Notorious Scandal, I think the Choyce is hard : but I rather Incline against the Scandal.*

Conf. Then let me tell ye, *Schism* is *Both* ; and if ye will believe Sir Francis Bacon, [*Heresies and Schisms, are of all others the Greatest Scandals ; yea more then Corruption of Manners.*] Consider it *first*, as it stands in Opposition to *Unity*, (which is the *Bind* both of *Religion*, and *Society*) what can be more *Scandalous* then That which renders Religion it self, *Ridiculous* ? and *That's* the Effect of *Schism*. To see so many several Factions Grinning one upon another, and yet all pretending to the same *One*, and *Infallible Spirit* ! To bring it home, How Great a *Shame* and *Trouble* is This to Those that are *within* us ! How great a *Discouragement* to such as are *without* us ; and How great

Essay of Unity
of Religion,

great a Subject of *Rejoycing* is it to Those that are *Against* us! How many (in fine) has it driven *From* us; and how many more has it hinder'd from coming to us! Again; 'tis seldome, (I think I might say, *never*) seen, that *Schism* goes *Alone*: and in Effect, it is but *Sedition* in a *Disguise*. For we find that our *Scrupulous Dissenters*, can with great *Ease*, and *Unity*, agree in a *War*, though not in a *Ceremony*.

Scrup. And may there not be *Conspiracies in Scandal*, as well as in *Schism*? There, with an *Evident Design* to bring *Contempt upon Religion*: whereas Here, we find at least a *Colour*, and *Pretence* to uphold it. Beside; the *sins* which I account *Scaudalous*, are, many of them, *Levell'd at the Prerogative of God Himself*; and, in short, the *Question* is not properly, and simply, betwixt *Schism*, and *Scandal*, but betwixt *Schism*, and all other *sins* whatsoever that may be *Propagated by Conversation*; (for That's the *Latitude of Scandal*)

Zea. Again, let me observe from your own mouth, that *Herelies* are *Scandals*, and several *Herelies* you know, both by the *Laws of God and Man*, are *Punish'd with Death*. He that *Blasphemeth the Name of the Lord*, shall be put to *Death*. And from hence you may gather some *Difference* sure, betwixt the *heynousness* of the *One*, and of the *Other*. Numb. 24. 16.

Conf. If you will measure the *Sin* by the *Punishment*, you'll proceed by a very uncertain *Rule*: for *Political Laws* regard rather *Publique Conveniences*, than *Particular Cases of Conscience*. A man shall lose his *Life* for *Picking a Pocket*, and but hazard his *Ears* for a *False Oath*. But if you'll refer the matter to the *Just and Infallible Judge of all the World*, God Himself; look but into that dreadful *Judgement upon the Schism of Krah*. *Korah, Dathan, &c.* rose against *Moses* with two hundred and fifty *Captains of the Assembly*, famous in the *Congregation*, and said unto them, *Ye take too much upon you*, since all the *Congregation is Holy*, every one of them, and the *Lord is among them*. Wherefore then *List ye your selves above* Numb. 16. 1. V. 3.

Toleration Discus'd.

- above the Congregation of the Lord. [And what follow'd?]
 V. 31. The Earth open'd her mouth, and swallow'd Them up with
 their Families, and all the Men that were with Korah, &c.
 V. 35. A fire came out from the Lord, and consum'd the two hun-
 dred and fifty Men that Offer'd the Incense. This set the
 Multitude a muttering against Moses and Aaron; saying
 V. 41. Ye have kill'd the people of the Lord. See now what came
 V. 47. of This Muttring too: Fourteen thousand seven hundred of
 them were consum'd by a Plague.

Zea. Well! but what if you'll understand That to be
 Schifin, which I know to be Conscience?

Conf. Then have you the same Freedome to be Even
 with me, upon the Point of Scandal; and so the Con-
 troversie must be Endless for want of a Judge to De-
 cide it.

 S E C T.

SECT. XIII.

The Necessity of a Final, and Unaccountable
JUDGE.

Conf. **W**Hat's your Opinion of the Necessity of a Judge?

Ze. I'm clearly for a Judge; that is, for a Judge furnish'd as well with a Competency of Understanding to Determine Aright, as with a Power and Commission to Determine.

Conf. A Judge supposes One Competency, as well as the Other; But the Determination must be Final, and Decisive; No Appeal From it, and no Contending Beyond it.

Ze. What not in Case of Error? I should be sorry to see a Roman Infallibility set up in England.

Conf. How you start now from the shadow of an Infallible Judge, into the Inconvenience of None at all! You would have a Judge you say: but then, That Judge must be Questionable, in Case of Error; so that another Judge is to Judge Him, and the very Judge of This Judge is Himself Questionable; and so is His Judge, and his Judges Judge; - (to the end of the Chapter) In case of Error: Which Case of Error may be alledg'd, Wheresoever there's no Infallibility; and if there be no Infallibility in Nature, then by Your Rule, there can be no Judge in Nature.

Ze. I do not say but a man may Judge Certainly in some Cases, though not Infallibly in All; and my demand is only the Free Exercise of my Judgement of Discretion, without being Ty'd up to an Implicit Resignation. There is (in short) but a Right, and a Wrong; and the One I must Embrace, and Reject the Other. How shall I know This from That, without Enquiry? and what am I the better for That Enquiry, if when I have Learn'd my Duty, I am debar'd the Liberty to Prattle it?

Conf. You turn the Question here from the *Necessity* of a Judge, to his *Infallibility*. 'Tis not a half-penny to Me, whether you make him *Infallible*, or *Credible*, or *Probable*; or what you make him, or where you place him, provided that he be acknowledged *Necessary*, and *Unaccomprable*. *Necessary*, I suppose you will not stick at: for there can be no Peace without him, every man being at Liberty to wrangle, where no man is Authoris'd to Determine.

Zea. What is it that either Invites Tyranny, or Upholds it, but the Opinion of an Unaccomprable-Sovereignty?

Conf. What is it rather (you should have said) that Excites Sedition, and Depopulates Kingdomes, but the Contrary? and the Fiercest Tyranny, is much more supportable then the Mildest Rebellion.

Zea. I shall readily allow you the Convenience of a Definitive Judgment, if you will but secure me from the Danger of a Definitive Injustice.

Conf. You mistake your self, if you Oppose a Possible Injury on the One side, to a Certain Strife and Confusion on the Other. If *Infallibility* you cannot find, why may not the fairest Probability Content you?

Zea. But would you have That Probability, Govern by Unquestionable, and Authoritative Conclusions?

Conf. By any means; Ye do nothing, else; for where Controversies are Inevitable, and Concord Necessary; what can be more Reasonable, than to chuse the most Competent Judge of the Matter in Controversie, for the Concluding Umpire of the Controversie it self?

Scrup. But a man may Judge Probably in One Case, and Improbably in Another. Suppose the Determination to be manifest Errour, or Injustice; would you have the same Submission pay'd to't, as if it were Equity, and Truth?

Conf. Yes; to the Determination, though not to the Error: You are to stand to the Authority of the Sentence, without Contesting the Equity of it: for Right or Wrong, 'tis a Decision. The Principal Scope, and sure end of a Reference, is Peace: the Hopeful Event, and Issue of it,

is, Righteous Judgment. Is it not well then, to be Sure of the One, and in so fair Hopes of the Other? Put it to the Worst: You are not bound to be of the Judge his Opinion, but to be over-ruled by his Authority: neither do you undertake that he shall Judge wisely as to the Subject of the Question, but that he shall Judge Effectually, as to the purpose of the Reference.

Scrup. *This Resignation may do well, in Cases of Civil Interest: but it will hardly hold in matters of Conscience. Who shall pretend to Judge of my Conscience, beside God, and myself?*

Conf. The Scripture, which is the Rule of all Consciences, shall be the Judge of Yours. But the Question is not, What your Conscience *IS*, but what it *OUGHT* to be: not what your Private Judgment Says, but what the Scripture Means: and the thing I strive for, is a Judge of That; A Judge of the Rule of Faith; which I take to be all out as Necessary as a Judge of a Political Law.

You cannot but Allow, that there are Diversities of Opinions, as well in Religion, as concerning Secular Affairs: and such is our Corruption, that we draw Poison even from the Fountain of Life, and the Word of God it self, is made the warrant of all Crimes, and the Foundation of all Heresies.

Look behind ye, and you may see a Prince Murther'd by his Subjects, Authority Beshadowed by a pretended Law, and All This Defended by a Text. The Church Devour'd by a Divided Ministry; the Government Overturnd by a Solemn League and Covenant, to Support it. An Arbitrary Power Introduc'd by the Patrons of Liberty, and Chastity it self extinguish'd for the Advancement of the Gospel. We have liv'd to see as many Heresies, as Congregations; and attituded Those of the classical way, a Confistorian Samu'el Exercis'd beyond the Rigour of a Spanish Inquisition. We have seen some that [a] Abhor Idols, committing Sacrilege; [a] Rom. 1. 22. Christ's Kingdome cry'd up, till his [b] Divinity is deny'd: [b] By the Strictness of Life Inculcated, till the very Rule of it (the [c] By the Decalogue it self) is Rejected. And Blasphemy hunted Antinomians.

out of the *Tavern*, into the *Pulpit*. In short; what Sin, and Misery have we not known, and felt, since under the Form of Liberty of Conscience, This Freedom of a Private Spirit came in Vogue? Nor are we ever to expect better from it, till all men shall conspire to do the same thing, where every man is left to his own Gust, to do what he pleases: and whence flows all This Mischiefe, and Confusion, but from a Licence of wandring from the Rule?

[d] Rutherford, *Lex. Rex* P. 251.

Shew the People a *Written Law*: They'll tell you of a *Law of Nature*; and distinguish betwixt [The {d}] *Politique Power they have given the King, and the Natural Power which they Reserve to Themselves*.]

Bid them Reverence the King as the Supreme Governour: They'll Answer you; No: *Hee's but the Servant, and Vassal of the People: his Royalty is only a Virtual Emanation from Them; and in Them Radically, as in the first Subject.* (According to Rutherford, Parker, Goodwin, Bridges, Milton, and a hundred more)

[a] Goodwin Right and Might, Pa. 10.

Come to the Point of *Non-Resistance*, and you shall hear, that [a] *Wheresoever a King, or other Supreme Authority creates an Inferiour, they invest it with a Legitimacy of Magistratical Power, to Punish themselves also, in case they prove Evil-doers: Yea, and to Act any other thing, requisite for the Praise and Encouragement of the Good.*

[b] *Lex. Rex* Pa. 265.

If it be demanded in what capacity the King may be Resisted? hear Rutherford again: [b] *The Man who is King may be Resisted, but not the Royal Office; The King in Concreto, may be Resisted; but not the King in Abstracto.*]

[c] *Lex. Rex* Pa. 324.

But in what Manner may he be Resisted; and by what Means. [c] *He may be Resisted in a Pitch'd Battel, and with Swords and Guns. That is; his {d} Private will may be Resisted, not his Legal Will; Neither is he Present in the Field as a {e} King, but as an Injust Invader, and Grasfator.*

[d] Pa. 269.

[e] Pa. 334.

[f] Pa. 324.

[g] Pa. 273.

[h] *Ibid.*

[i] *Ibid.*

If he chance to be slain: 'Tis but an [f] *Accident*; and who can help it? [g] *Hee's Guilty of his own Death*; or [h] *let them Answer for't that brought him Thither.* [i] *The Contrary Party is Innocent.* But

against Uniformity, yet I'm no Advocate for Anarchy: and 'tis with Non-conformists as with Other People; there are Good and Bad, of All Sorts. But to go with the Moderate: Would you have All *man's* Consciences Govern'd by the same Rule, when 'tis Impossible to bring them All to the same Mind?

Conf. Better, Particulars suffer for Incompliance with the Publique, than the Publique suffer for Complying with Particulars. Uniformity is the Giment of both Christians, and Civil Societies: Take That away, and the Parts drop from the Body; one piece falls from Another.

The Magistrate, (for Order's sake) requires Uniformity; You, and your Associates Oppose it upon a Pled of Conscience; and the Question is, Whether He shall Over-Rule Your Opinions; or You Over-Rule His Authority? This Dispute begets a War, for want of a Judge, and to Prevent that Mischiefe, I offer that a Judge is Necessary. Or put it Thus: You and I Differ, and Possibly we are Both of us in the Wrong; but most certainly, we are not Both in the Right: and yet neither of us but thinks well enough of his own Opinion. What's to be done in This Case? Shall we wrangle Eternally?

Scrup. No; We'll rather put the matter to Arbitration.

Conf. Well! but the Arbitrer himself is Fallible, and may Mistake too, or let him have the Wisdom of an Angel, he cannot please us Both: for That which seems Right to the One will appear Wrong to the Other. Shall we stand to his Award what ever it be? If not; take into your Thought These Consequences: You Refuse to submit because 'tis Wrong: I may refuse, by the same Reason, though it be Right: (for every Man's Reason is of Equal Force, where there is no Common, and Representative Reason to Bind All) So that by your Reasoning, Every man is in the Right to Himself, and in the Wrong to all the World beside; every man's hand is against his Brother, and his Brother's against Him. (At least if I deceive not my self, in my persuasion, that Nature never produc'd Two persons, in all points,

points, of the same Judgment.) Now, if you can neither deny *Confusion* to be the Natural Effect of This *Liberty* of Judgment; nor the want of a *Regulating*, and *Discretory* Sentence; to be the manifest Cause of This *Confusion*: I hope you'll Grant me the Necessity of an Unaccountable Judge.

Scrup. Is not the Word of God a sufficient Judge?

Conf. No; That's no Judge, but {a Rule for Christians *Chillingworth* to Judge by} and the Great hazard lies upon the Meaning Safe Way, of That Rule. What swarms of Heresies have Over-spread Pa. 57. This Land, since the Bible has been deliver'd up to the Interpretation of Private Spirits?

Scrup. You say well, if you could direct me to a Judge that we might All Relie upon.

Conf. And You say something too; if you could make appear, that *None at All*, is better then the best we have; or that Popular Errours, Numberless and Inevitable, (with the Dissolution of Communities to boot) are to be preferr'd to the few, and only Possible, Failings of Authority, attended with Peace, and Agreement. But to come to the short of the Question; This is it: Whether will you rather have, One fallible Judge; or, a Million of Damnable Heresies?

Scrup. Truly, as you have reduc'd it, to a Certainty of Peace the One way, and to as great a Certainty of Discord the Other; to a Certainty of Many Errours without a Judge, and to a bare Possibility of some few, with One; I am content in this Particular, to think a Final Judge Necessary.

Conf. If you find it so in the Church, sure you will not Dispute it in the State, especially against an experience too, the most forcible of all Reasons. We were never troubled with *Constructive Necessities*; with Cavils about the Receptacle of Power, and the Limits of Obedience: with Distinctions betwixt the Political, and the Natural Right of the People; the Legal, and Personal Will of the Prince; and betwixt the Equity and Letter of the Law; till Judgment was forc'd from its Proper Course, and Channel, and the

De-

Toleration Discus'd.

Decision of Right and Wrong, committed to the Frivolous and Arbitrary Determinations of the Multitude.

Scrup. Pray e by your Leave. I am as much for a Judge, as You; but not for One Judge to All Purposes; nor, I confess, for any Judge so Absolute as you would have him.

Conf. I tell ye again; A Judge, and no Absolute Judge, is No Judge: and you shall as soon find the End of a Circle, as of a Controversy, by such a Judge. Nor is it my Meaning, that One Judge should serve for All purposes.

Scrup. Will you Divide your Matter then, and Assign to every Judicable Point, his Proper Judge?

Conf. You say well; For truly I do not take the Magistracy to be any more a Judge of My Conscience, than I am of His.

Scrup. 'Tis every Right; and it were an Encroachment upon the Prerogative of God Himself, for him to Challenge it.

Conf. How comes it now, that we that Agree so well i'the End, should Differ so much 'ith' Way to't? But I hope, the clearing of the next point will set us Through-Right: For after the settling of the Judge, we have nothing further to do but to Submit; and so wee'll Forward.

Sacr:

S E C T. XIV.

The Three great Judges of Mankind, are,
GOD, MAGISTRATES, and CON-
SCIENCE.

Conf. **S**OME things we do as *Men*; other things as *Men in Society*; and some again as *Christians*. In the first place, we are acted by the Law of *Individuals*; which Law is, in the second place, Subjected to That of *Government*; and Both these Lawes are, in the third place, Subordinate to That of *Religion*; i. e. the Law of *God's Reveal'd Will*. So that the Three great Judges of Mankind, are, *God, Magistrates, and Conscience*.

Man, as consisting of *Soul*, and *Body*, may be again *Subdivided* within *Himself*. Take him in his *Lower Capacity*, and hee's sway'd by the *General Law of Animal Nature*; but in his *Divine* part, you'll find him Govern'd by the *Nobler Law of Refin'd Reason*: which Reason, in some Respects, may be call'd *Prudence*; and in others, *Conscience*; according as 'tis variously Exercis'd. The things which we do purely as *Men*, (abstracted from any Ingredients of *Policy*, or *Regulated Religion*) are either *Natural Actions*, *Prudential*, or *Moral*. Of the *First* sort, are Those Actions to which we are prompted by a *Natural Impulse*, in order to the Conservation of *Life*, and *Being*. Of the *Third* sort, are such Actions as we perform in Obedience to *Moral Principles*; (which are no other than the *Divine Will* veil'd under the Dictate of *Humane Reason*) and betwixt These *Two*, lies the Region of *Middle Actions*; that is, of such Actions, as although not of *simple* and *strict Necessity*, either to *Life*, or *Virtue*, are notwithstanding *Useful*, and *Commodious*, for the *Guidance*, and *Comfort* of the *One*, and for the *Practice* of the *Other*. The Accurate disquisition of This Interest, laies the *Axe* to the *Root* of the *Question*; for nothing has Embroyl'd us more, then the

Mistaken Rights of Individuals; which Mistakes being once Clear'd, by laying open the *Subordination* of several *Claims*, and *Powers*, every man may take a *Distinct* view of his *Own Province*.

Zea. Proceed Regularly now, and State These Subordinations as you go.

Rom. 7. 23.

Conf. Content; and we are now upon the *Right of Individuals*; in which Naked simplicity of considering *MAN*, without any regard to the ordinary motions of *Providence*, in the *Order*, and *Regiment* of the world, we shall yet find a manifest *Subordination* within *Himself*, and the *Law of Sense*, under the *Dominion* of the *Law of Reason* in the *same Subject*. These are the *Laws* which the *Apostle* calls, the *Law of his Members*, and the *Law of his Will*. The *Former* (and the less Excellent) *Law*, is the *Law Sensitive*; which is no other than the *Law of Self-preservation*, (indeed, the *supreme Law* of *Animal Beings*, as of *Rationals*, the *Lowest*;) This *Law Sensitive* is (effectually) the *Manifestation* of *God*, in the *Creature*. (for what *Sense* does, *Nature* does; and what *Nature* does, *God* does)

Zea. But what is That Power which you call Nature?

Conf. It is the *Ordinary working* of *God* in all his *Creatures*; by virtue of which *Divine Influence*, every thing is mov'd to seek the utmost *Perfection* whereof it is *Capable*. As for the purpose. The *perfection* of *Man*, is the *Congruity* of his *Actions*, with his *Reason*, which is nothing else but That which we call *VIRTUE*. The *Perfection* of *Beasts*, is a degree *Lower*; they are mov'd only by a *Sensual Impulse*, toward what's convenient for them, and when they have it, they *Rest*.

Scrup. I can but Laugh, when people are Gravell'd, to see how they run to their *Impulses*, and *Occult Qualities*; which is but a more *Learned way* of saying, [They don't know what] *Pray spare me a word; what Difference is there betwixt Their Impulse, and Our Choyce?*

Conf. Pre thee be *Quieter*, unless thou hast a mind to have

have a *Toleration* for thy Dog. Their *Impulse* carries them on through a *Sensitive Search*, not any *Deliberative Discourse*: and no *Electio* neither at last; but only the simple Prosecution of a *Determinate Appetite*, without Imagining any *Proportion*, betwixt the *Means*, and the *End*.

Scrup. But still we find that there is a *Proportion*; and the *Motion* appears to Us, according to the *Method* of Reason, and *Orderly* proceeding from *Question* to *Resolution*.

Conf. Is it Reason think ye, that makes a Dog follow his *Nose*, and hunt for *Meat* when hee's *Hungry*? Or will ye call it *Choyce*, if he leaves a *Turf* for a *Bone*? In short; Hee's mov'd by *Instinct*, toward the *End*; and *Sense* carries him through the *Means*.

Scrup. But why should the same Process of Means, and the same Application of Causes, be Ascrib'd only to *Instinct* in Brutes, and to Reason in Man?

Conf. You must take notice, that all *Natural Operations*, are *Regular* and *Ordinate*, by what means soever perform'd; but it does not follow, because the *Method* is according to Reason, that therefore the *Instrument* must be Reasonable. But to Mind our Business.

The Law of *Self-Preservation*, is a Law Common to *Beasts* with *Men*; but not of Equal Force: for *Their Sovereign Interest* is *Life*, *Ours* is *Virtue*; and therefore your Argument for *Defensive Arms*, upon Pretext of That Extremity, was but a *Brutish Plea*; For, if the Consideration of *Virtue* be not above That of *Life*, Where lies the *Advantage* of our Reason?

Scrup. But when the Death is Certain, and the Virtue Doubtfull, who shall decide the Question?

Conf. In a Case Abstracted from the Tyes, and Duties of Religion, and Government; Every Mans Reason Sits as Judge upon his own Life. At for Instance; You're in the Hands of Thieves; and upon This Condition, Either to Take a False Oath, or to Lose your Life. Your Conscience tells ye, you must rather Perish. But if without violence to a Superiour Duty, you can preserve your Self, you're your own Murderer, if you do not.

Toleration Discus'd.

Thus far I think wee're safe, and I suppose Agreed; that *Every Individual* is to Govern himself by his *Natural Conscience*; but when the several *Particulars* come to be Buddled up in one *Community*, the Case is Otherwise.

Scrup. *I am sorry to hear ye say That. Why should not every Man be Govern'd by his Own Conscience, as well in Confort, as in Solitude? or, Will ye have it, that our Duty to God ceases, in the Act of becoming Subjects to a Civil Magistrate?*

Conf. Not so quick, and you shall have it. As to your *Conscience*, you are as Free now, as you were before; but your *Body* is no longer your Own, after you're once admitted a Member of a *Society*; and There's the Difference. You were your *Own* servant before, and now you are the *King's*: (for what is *Government*, but the *Wisdom, Resolve, and Force of Every Particular*, gather'd into One *Understanding, Will, and Body*?) and This comes up to What I have already deliver'd; that, *Whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is the Subject of Humane Power.*

Scrup. *But who shall be Judg of what's Indifferent?*
Conf. Wee'l scan That, the very next thing we doe.

You are already satisfi'd, that an *Authoris'd Judg* is Absolutely *Necessary*, in Order to the Peace of *Church and State*; and to the Ending of all *Publique Differences*: but we are not yet Agreed upon our Judges, or, if we were, yet in Regard our Judges are but Men, and so may Erre, [*Infallibility being departed with Christ and his Apostles, in lieu of which Living and Infallible Guides, God has in Providence given us a Plain and Infallible Rule*] It may withall be taken into thought, How far a *Private Judge* may be Allow'd to Opine against a *Publique*, in Case of a *Reluctant Conscience*, and (in some sort) to judge his *Judg*.

Scrup. You say very well; for, place the *Ultimate Decision* where you will, 'tis (as you said before) An *Infallible Determination*

mination as to the Strife, but not so, as to the Truth; and it comes to This at last, that every man, in some Degree, Re-judges his Judge. If I am fully convinc'd, either that the Command is fulfill in it self, or the Opinion Wicked; I am neither to Obey the One, nor to Embrace the Other; as being ty'd up by the General Obligation, of rather Obeying, and Believing God, then Man. Nay more; If in Obedience to the Magistrate, I commit a sin against God; and that Ignorantly too; That very Act, in Ignorance, is Criminal, if I had the Means of being better Inform'd: for certainly, no Humane Respect, can justifie an Offence against God; Now if I am bound to do nothing that is ill, I am likewise bound, before I do anything, to satisfy my self whether it be ill or no: for otherwise, I may swallow a false Religion for a True, and be Damn'd at Last, for not Minding what I Did; Which I take to be Proof sufficient, that no man is so Implicitly Oblig'd to rely upon other Mens Eyes, as Totally to Abandon the Direction of his Own; or so Unconditionally to swear Obedience to Other Mens Lawes, and Perswasions, as to hold no Intelligence at all, with That Sacred Law, and faithfull Counsellor, which he carries in his own Bosom.

Conf. Forgive me, If you Imagine that I would have ye Renounce your Reason. No, but on the Contrary, I would have ye to be Guided, and Concluded by't, and only to Obey for *Quaker's* sake, so far as you can possibly Obey in Conscience.

Scrup. What if a Single Person hits That Truth which a General Council Misses? Which will you have him follow? Truth, or Authority?

Conf. Why truly Both; Truth with his Soul, and Authority with his Body; but so Remote a Possibility must not Presume to Bolster up the Thinkings of a Private Spirit against the Resolutions of Authority; yet for the very Possibility's sake, wee'l take That supposition likewise into our Care, and Word the sum of the Whole Matter Plainly Thus:

The Church says, ye May do; and the Law says, ye Must Do, That which your Conscience says, You Ought not to

Toleration Discus'd.

Do. How will you Reconcile your Duty, and your Conscience, in This Case?

Scrup. *Very well; for I think it my Duty to obey my Conscience, upon This Principle, that Conscience is God's Substitute over Individuals.*

Conf. Keep to That; and Answer me again. *Is not the Civil Magistrate God's Substitute too? If he be, How comes Your Conscience to take Place of His Authority? They are Both Commission'd alike, and consequently, They are Both to be Obey'd alike; which is Impossible, where their Commands are Inconsistent.*

Scrup. *The Magistrate is a Publique Minister, and his Commission does not Reach to Particular Consciences.*

Conf. 'Tis very Right; and on the other side, My friend Scruple is a Private Person, and there's as little Reason to pretend that his Opinion should operate upon a Publique Law. So that if I Miltake yenor, Wee are Agreed thus far, That Every Particular is to look to One, and the King to the Whole.

Scrup. *I do not much Oppose it.*

Conf. If your Brother Zeal, would deal as candidly, with me now about the Ecclesiastical Power, as You have done in the Civill, we might make short work of This Question; and I hope he will not deny, that the Church is as well [a] Authoris'd to TEACH, and INSTRUCT in all the External Acts of Worship, as [b] the Magistrate is to COMPELL to those External Acts.

[a] *Rutherfords Due Right of Presbyt. p. 356.*

[b] *Ibid. p. 352.*

[c] *Ibid p. 407.*

Ze. There is no Doubt, but [c] the Church, [as the Church] has a Ministerial Power, Ex Officio, to Define Controversies according to the Word of God; and that [d] A Synod, Lawfully Conven'd, is a Limited, Ministerial, and bounded visible Judg, and to be Believed in, so far as they follow Christ, the Peremptory and Supreme Judg, speaking in his own Word.

[d] *Ibid. p. 415.*

Conf. This will not do our business yet; for, if a Synod be but to be Believed in SO FAR as it follows Christ, &c. They that ought to be Concluded by That Act, are left the Judges of it, and the Credit of the Authority, rests upon the

Conscience, (or, if you please, the *Phanſy* or *Humour*) of the *Believer*: and so there's no *Decision*.

Ze. [e] The Truth is, we are to believe Truths De- [d] *Ruth.*
termin'd by Synods; to be Infallible; and never again Free Disp.
lyable to Retraction or Discussion; nor because [So says the Lord:] pag. 36.
the Synod] but because [So says the Lord:]

Conf. Still y^e are short; for 'tis not in our Power to Dis-
believe what we acknowledge to be a Truth; but That which
is Truth at the Fountain, may become Error in the Passage;
or at least appear so to me; and what Then?

Ze. It must be look'd upon as an Error of the Conscience,
which is no discharge at all of your Obedience: from which Er-
ror, you are to be Reclam'd, either by Instruction, or Cen-
sure. For, the People are oblig'd to [Obey those that are *Ruth. Free*
over them in the Lord, who watch for their souls, as these who Disp. p. 27..
must give an Account;] and not Oblig'd to stand to, and
Obey the Ministerial, and Official Judgement of the
PEOPLE, [He that Heareth You (MINISTERS of the
Gospel, not the PEOPLE) heareth MEE, and he that Despi-
seth YOU, despiseth MEE.]

Conf. Then I find we shall shake hands: You two,
Gentlemen, are joyntly engag'd against the Act for Uniform-
ity; and yet ye cannot say, that it wants any thing to
give it the full Complement of a binding Law: Whether
ye Regard either the Civil, or the Ecclesiastical Authority.
Here's first, the Judgment of the Church Duely Con-
ven'd, touching the *Modestness*, and *Convenience* of the Rites
and Forms therein Conteyn'd. You have next, the Royal
Sanction, Approving, and Authorising Those Rites, and Forms,
and Requiring your Exact Obedience to Them: Now so it is,
that you can neither Decline the Authority of your Judges,
nor the Subjection of your Duties; What is it, then, that
hinders your Obedience?

Scrup. That which so me is. More than all the World; It
goes against My Conscience.

Conf. Only That Point then, and no More upon This
Subject.

That:

Toleration Discus'd.

That God is the *Judge* of the *World*; that the *Church* is the *Judge* of what Properly concerns *Religion*; that the *Civil Magistrate* is the *Judge* of what concerns the *Publique Peace*; and that *Every Mans Conscience* is the *Judge* of what concerns *his Own Soul*; is already Clear'd: The Remaining Difficulty is This, How I am to behave my self in a Case, where the *Law* bids me do *One Thing*, and my *Conscience*, *Another*.

To take a true Estimate of what's before us, we must first ballance the Two Interests that meet in Competition.

There is in *favour*, and for the *Execution* of the *Law*, (meaning that of *Uniformity*,) 1. The *Personal Conscience*, and 2. the *Political Conscience* of the *King*. There is likewise for the *Equity* of it, the solemn and deliberate *Judgment* of the *Church*: which is, Effectually, the *Publique Conscience*; and lastly, for the *Observance* of it, there is the *Duty* of the *Subject*, (which, if it be *withdrawn*, does not only invalidate This *Particular Act*, but it loosens the sinews of *Sovereign Authority*; and, which is more, it destroys even a *Divine Ordinance*; for, take away *Obedience*, and *Government* lapses into *Confusion*.)

Now for the *Counterpoiz*: AGAINST This *Law*, and Thus supported; appears your *Naked Conscience*. Nay, That's the *Fairest* on't, It may be worse, and in Truth, any thing that's *Ill*, under that name.

Serup. But what's the *World* to Mee; in the scale against my *Soul*?

Conf. You have great Reason sure, and 'tis no more than every man may challenge: That is, to *Stand*, or *Fall*, to his own *Conscience*: Is That your *Principle*?

Serup. Yes, out of doubt; 'tis Mine, and Yours, and His, and any Man's that's *Honest*.

Conf. Well, hold ye a little: Your *Conscience* will not down with This *Law*, it seems; and This *Law* will as little down with Your *Conscience*. Weigh now the *Good* against the *Bad*; What if it *stands*? What if it *yields*? Make the Case worse then 'tis; as Bad as Bad may be, in your own favour

Favour, You cannot Comply with the Law; and the Law will not stoop to You. What follows upon't?

Scrup. *The Ruine of many Godly People that desire to Worship God according to his Word.*

Conf. That Plea wrought little upon You from Us; but let that pass. What Sort of Ruine do ye mean? Ruine of Liberty? or Estate? (for This Law Draws no Blood) State your Misfortunes I beseech ye.

Scrup. *No Man must Hold a Benefice, or Teach a School, but upon Terms of such Subscription, or Acknowledgement, as many an Honest Man would rather Dye, then Consent to; So that We are Distrest; not only for our Selves, as being Depriv'd of the Comfort of all Spiritual, and Heavenly Freedomes; But our Poor Infants are Expos'd to be Undone, wanting the Means of a Religious Education.*

Conf. If This be All, never Trouble your Selves; for Many an Honest Man has Out-liv'd more than this comes to. In short, there's a Huge Clamour; but (God knows) with very Little Reason. Some Particulars will possibly Suffer for want of a Toleration: and who are They; but (Most of Them) the Actual Enemies of the King; and All of Them, the Profess'd Opposers of the Law?

If you would see the Event of Granting what you ask; Turn but your Face toward --41, and then Blush, and Repent. Do so; and thank his Majesty for your Heads, without troubling him with your Consciences. Beside; you're not aware, that in Contesting with the Law, you Quarrel with your Self: There's your own Vote Against ye; and all this muttering is no other then your Faction's Will, wrangling with your Political Consent. Yet still I say, Stick to your Conscience.

Scrup. *Your Raillery is ill Plac'd.*

Conf. Then 'tis the better for my Earnest: and 'tis in very, very Great Earnest that I speak it. Wee'll come now to the Push, and, without What's, or Why's, lay down for Granted, that there is a Real Distance betwixt This Act, and your Conscience. How will you divide your Duty?

Toleration Discus'd.

Scrup. I'll follow your Advice, and Stick to my Conscience.

Conf. You do the Better: now, *Change Hands*; and Phantise your self the *Supreme Magistrate*. He has a *Double Conscience*. One, that concerns *Himself*, Th' Other his *People*.

What his Majesty's *Personal Judgement* is, has been *Declard* Abundantly; what his *Prudential Judgment* may dispose him to, lies in his *Royal Breast*. But be That as *Heaven* shall Order it, Here's the *Partition of your Rights*. The *King's Prerogative* has nothing to do with your *Conscience*, and your *Conscience*, has as little to do with His *Majesty's Prerogative*. The *King* is accomptable to God for the welfare of his *People*, and *You* are only Accomptable to God for the Good of your *little Particular*. If you cannot *Obe*y the *Law*; do not: but abide the *Penalty*. If the *Sovereign* cannot *Relax* the *Law*, He's as *Free* to *Execute* it. Your *Conscience* requires *Liberty*; and your *Governour's* *Conscience* requires *Order*, and the very ground of your *Demand*, is the *Reason of His Refusal*. Now why you should expect that your *Sovereign* should bring down *His Conscience* to *Yours*, when you find, upon experiment, that you cannot perswade your *Own* up to *His*, is to me a *Mystery*. To *Conclude*; Keep your self within your *Sphere*, and where you cannot *Consent* as a *Christian*, *Submit* as a *Subject*.

Scrup. I cannot much deny the *Colour of your Argument*, and yet me think; there's so much to be said too, for *Toleration*, that I'm afraid you'll Leave me as you found me.

Conf. I'll sterve thee first; for thou shalt Eat no Meat till thou'rt my *Convert*: wherefore Go on, and do thy worst.

S E C T. XV.

*The Toleration, which the Non-Conformists
Desire, has neither GROUND nor
PRESIDENT.*

Serup. *T* Is a most horrible kind of Persecution.

Conf. Why then Government's a most horrible Ord'nance. For the Punishment of Evil-Doers, is the one half of the Magistrates Commission: and what's an Evil-Doer, but the Transgressor of a Law?

Serup. But, What do ye think, when the Making of One Law is the Transgression of Another?

Conf. I think, such a Law is better Broken then Kept. But remember the Judge, my Friend; and know, that Laws are made for the Community, not for Particulars; and Good, or Bad, they're Laws still. Suppose them Cruel; y'had as good say, *The King's a Tyrant*, as Call them so; for the Law is no other than the King's written Will. Now to your Persecution again; say what ye will, y'are Safe.

Serup. Do not you take the Persecuting Party to be generally in the Wrong?

Conf. I was of That Opinion three or four year agoe. But if it be so, the Persecuted have the less reason to Complayn, having so comfortable a marque of being in the Right.

Serup. But what can justify the very Constitution of a Persecuting Law?

Conf. You should rather have Asked, What can justify the Toleration of a Troublesome People? The Law stands Fixt, and Immovable; and yet upon a Guard too. You Attaque That, and then ye cry, That (or the Magistrate) hurts you.

you : which is thereabout, as if you should Throw your self upon the point of a Sword, and then Curse the Cutler.

Scrup. Christians will not persecute Pagans for Conscience, and yet they worry one another.

Conf. And in some Cases they may have reason: for an Infidel is self dangerous to the Publique than an Apostate. And beside; the One is but giving Quarter to a fair, and Open Enemy; the Other is to take a Snake into your Bosome. The One, in Fine, denies but your Opinion; the Other, your Authority. Pray'take notice by the By, That which you call Persecution, I translate Uniformity.

Scrup. How shall the Magistrate Distinguish, whom he should Punish, and whom Not?

Conf. Better a great deal, whom he should Punish, than whom he should Spare. They Act; and then he brings Those Actions to a Rule, and That shews him whether they are straight, or crooked.

Scrup. How do you know but you may Persecute God Himself, in a Right Conscience?

Conf. I tell ye, you are not Punish'd for your Thoughts, but for your Actions: and you'd Inferred, that because (for ought I know) Any Man may be in the Right, No Man must therefore be presum'd to be in the Wrong; That were to grant a Sanctuary to Wickedness, and to Confound Sin with Conscience.

Scrup. Does not God command, that the Tares should be let alone till the Harvelt?

Conf. But if that were meant of Practical Impieties, how should Governours be a Terror to Evil-doers; when all Malefactors must be let alone till the day of Judgment?

Scrup. Alas! alas! Severity, at best, does but make Hypocrites.

Conf. But, by your Leave, Forgiveness does it much more: for Those that come In for Fear, never went Off for Conscience, and so were Hypocrites before: and then you never consider Those Infinite Swarms of Seditious Spirits that

that throw themselves into the Tolerated Party under the veil of Sanctity. In fine; 'tis much more advisable to *take away* the Liberty of *Some*; then to *Grant* a Liberty to *All*. For betwixt Those that are not *Wise*, where is great hazard of *Error*; and Those that are not *Honest*, where is great Danger of *Design* (with your leave, Gentlemen) you'll find well nigh the Computation of your Party. But why do I stand *Fencing* in a Case, where all that's good for ought, even in the Favour'd Party, runs nigh an equal Perill? Is any honest man the better for the Last War? (I mean, save Those that are Forgiven)

Scrup. *Then you presume a War.*

Conf. Or what is equal to't; a *Standing Army*, upon necessity to keep them *Quiet*. For in *This Town*, a Toleration of Religion is *Cousin-German* to a Licence for Rebellion: and at the best, 'tis but *One Ill* that procreates *Another*.

Scrup. *And can you Imagine that so many restless Humours, and disturb'd Consciences, will ever be Quiet without it?*

Conf. You talk of *Conscience*. Shew me a *Conscience*, make proof of a *Conscience*. I'll shew ye a Thousand things like *Consciences*: but alas! narrowly look'd into, what are they but meere *Phanſie*, *Artifice*, or *Deſuſion*? A company of People Thus divided; The *one half* of them Deceive *Us*, and the *other half* of them Deceive *Themselves*; for 'tis not what every man *Thinks*, that is presently *Conscience*; but what every body *Thinks*, in Congruity with the Word of God; and of *That Word*, the Church is the best Judge. If *Conscience Alone* be sufficient, the Bible is *Superfluous*: Nay if *Conscience*, joyn'd with the Bible, be sufficient, what becomes of the Apostles Commission; [*Go, and TEACH all Nations?*] We shall undertake to Teach *THEM*, whom our Saviour has appointed to Teach *Us*.

But This is a little beside our business; for the stress of the Question, in order to a Toleration, does not bear so much upon *This Point*, whether your Opinions be *True* or *False*; as whether *Safe* or *Dangerous*. There are a sort of People that Reason by *one Principle*, and *All* by *another*;

Toleration Discus'd.

that begin with *Liberty of Conscience*, and end with the *Liberty of the Subject*: If You be of That number, *There's Death in the Pot*, and no Enduring of ye.

Further, *Liberty of Conscience* turns naturally into *Liberty of Government*, and therefore not to be endur'd; especially in a *Monarchy*; and to say truth, 'Tis commonly the *Method of Em'royling Kingdoms*; and but the *Em'ryo of Sedition*. Than which, nothing lyes opener to him that will only attend These Two Particulars: *First*, In those Times, when there is Generally the *least care of Religion*, you shall observe commonly, the *most Talk* of it; and *That* too, among such as least understand it. If This Impulse be not Acted by *Conscience*, 'tis from a *worse Principle*, and by no means to be *Encourag'd*; for the *Mass of the People* is already in a *Distemper*; and Those *Out-cries and Transports* for *Toleration*, are but the *Convulsions of a Sick Government*. Secondly, *Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs* are so *Twisted and Enterwoven*, that what Party soever clays a *Right of Freedom* to the former, may be fairly suspected to have a design likewise upon the latter: For the *Threads* are so *Enterlayd*, that *Both Interests* make, Effectually, but *One Piece*; so that the *State that allows the People a Freedom to chuse their Religion*, is reasonably to *Expect that they will Take a Freedom likewise to chuse their Government*.

Scrup. But why should a Toleration do worse Here than in Holland?

Conf. I would y'had found a better Instance. But, not to Dispute how They came Thither; let it suffice, That where They are, a Toleration would bring us.

Scrup. What do ye think of Poland then?

Conf. I think, That story speaks little in your Favour, either in Respect of Their frequent *Seditions*, or in Regard of Their *Prodigious and Heretical Opinions*; and yet They lye under the strongest Obligation in Nature to keep Them *Quiet*; the *Turk* being their *Neighbour*; which makes Their Case to be an *Agreement Rather Against a Common Enemy*, than *Among Themselves*. But back to *Holland*, Theirs is no *Perfect Toleration*: For, ye see, in the
Case

Case of Arminius; finding *Barneveldt* in the Head of the Party, (of whose Intendments, the States were at that time Jealous) They would not upon any Terms Allow that Freedom to the *Arminians*, which they did to *Others*; but Conven'd a Synod, and Exterminated the *Sett*.

There's a Great Difference too betwixt the *Interest*, and *Condition*, of *Their* Ministers, and *Ours*. *Theirs* Preach but upon *Good-behaviour*; They live upon the *States-Pay*; and upon the least Colour of *Offence*, They may be Turn'd off at Pleasure; Whereas *Our* Clergy have a *Free-hold* in their *Benefices* for Term of Life; and if they be *Factionously Dispos'd*, they may Evade the Law to do a *Mischief*, without making a *Forfeiture*. Consider next, that *Their* Case, was in some sort *Your Own*, only a *Common Cause* kept ye *United*. In fine, *Nothing but the fear of a Common Enemy can withhold a Libertine-Nation from falling foul upon it self*. If ye would see what work *Peters*, *Bridges* *Sympson*, and *Ward*, made in *Holland*, Read *Bayly's Dissuasive*, Pa. 75. and be Asham'd of Owning such a Party.

Scrup. You see the Fruit then of driving men to the Extremity of flying their Country for Religion.

Conf. You see rather, in what They did Abroad, what They would have done at Home, if They had been Tolerated; and Particularly, Observe Their Proceedings in *New-England*, where They Acted at Liberty, and Govern'd Themselves; by Their Own *Laws*. *Bayly* Reports (from People upon the Place) that of *Forty Thousand* Persons, *Three Parts of Four*, were not admitted to be in Any Church. If you have a mind to know any more concerning Their *Heresies*, Their *Cruelty*, Their *Sedition*, their *Hypocrisie*, &c. look into his *Dissuasive* again, Pa. 53.

Scrup. But ye see the French Allow a Toleration.

Conf. They do so; but not a Toleration of several sorts of *Roman-Catholiques*; Neither do Those of the Religion admit of any *Sub-division* among Themselves; nay, They have been often Press'd to't, and Refus'd it. Step into *Germany* next; and see the Deplorable Effects of This *Phanati-*

Toleration Discuss'd.

Resuscitatio
Pa. 189.

Phanatical Persuasion There: but above *All*, where ever the *Beauteous Discipline* has set her *Holy Foot*, *All other Judgements* suffer a daily *Martyrdom*. To Conclude, *Toleration* was That which *Queen Elizabeth*, in all her *Distresses*, could never be perswaded to. *Firm to This Resolution* (says *Sir Francis Bacon*) not to Suffer the State of Her *Kingdome* to be *Ruin'd*, under pretence of *Conscience and Religion*. Yet Shee *Conniv'd* so Long, and the *unthankful Faction* made such use of Her *Favours*, that Shee was forc't upon the *Rigour* of a *Strickt Uniformity*, to Help Her Self, and That *Preserv'd Her*. To say no more, The *Sentence* of the Late King was *Given* in the *Pulpit*, though the *Blow* was Struck upon the *Scaffold*.

Zea. Not by the Presbyterians, I hope.

Scrup. Truly by Them, if by Any.

Conf. Well Gentlemen, while you Debate That Point, I'll call for Dinner.

S E C T. XVI.

At whose Door Lyes the BLOOD of
King CHARLES the
MARTYR?

Zea. A Nd why by Them, if by Any, I beseech ye? Was *Pe-
ters* a *Presbyterian*?

*Scrup. Yes surely was he, as much as Marshall was an In-
dependent.*

*Zea. Go to, Let us spare Names, and Fall to the Mat-
ter.*

*Scrup. The Question is, Upon Whom the Guilt of the
Kings Blood lyes? You charge it upon Us; and I, upon You.*

[The

[The Presbyterians Spoyl'd Him as a King, before Others Executed Him as a Private Man] [Have they not Hunted and Persu'd Him with Sword, and Fire? Have they not formerly Deny'd to Treat with Him, and their now Recanting Ministers Preach't against Him, as a Reprobate Incurable; an Enemy to God, and his Church? Marqu'd for Destruction? &c.] [The Covenanting-Ministers, with their Party clearly Depos'd the King, when They Acknowledg'd and submitted unto a Power, as Superiour unto His; Levy'd war against Him, as against a Traytor, Rebel, and Enemy to the Kingdome, &c.] [The Scots had proceeded so far as to Imprison the Kings Person, and to Sequester all his Royal Power, which is a Temporary De-throning, and Deposing.] *Nay hear what some of your Rab-bies have not stuck to say in my Justification* [The Removal of Prelatical Innovations, Altar-genuflexions and crin-gings, with Crossings, and all that Popish Trash and Trum-pery, Countervails for the Blood and Treasure shed and spent in these late Distractions] *(and this was in --56.) Once more and you shall take your Turn.* [This may serve to Justifie the Proceedings of this Kingdome against the late King, who in a Hostile way set Himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties.]

Common-wealth Stated, P. 72.
Milton's Te-nur. P. 32.

Goodwin's De-fence of the King's Sen-tence, P. 53.

Parker's Scot-lands Holy War, P. 17.

Policy of Princes, P. 33.

Robert Dou-glass Sermon in 51 and in the Phoenix, P. 52.

Zea. I could Afford you Two, for One, and Pay you in your own Coyne. [His Capacity (*says Parker*) was at *Westmin-ster* when His Body was upon the Scaffold at *Whitehall* Paying unto Justice for his Misgovernment, and Tyranny] [Think not to save your Selves (*says One of your Mini-sters to the Commons, about a Month before the King Suffer'd*) Think not to Save your Selves (*says He*) by an Unrighte-ous Saving Them who are the Lord's and the Peoples Known Enemies, for Certainly if ye Act not Like GODS in This Particular against men truly Obnoxious to Justice, They will be like DEVILS against you ---- *Benhadad's Life was once in Ahab's Hand, and He ventur'd God's Displeasure to let him go. But see how Benhadad Re-wards Him for it. Fight neither with Small nor Great, but with the KING of Israel*]

English Tran-slat. P. 18.

Flesh Expi-ting, &c. P. 26.

Toleration Discus'd.

Conf. Come Gentlemen, Your Dinner's Ready ; but first I Charge ye, by that Love ye bear to *Truth*, and *Honesty* ; deal Freely with me ; What's Your Opinion of your Cause ?

Zéa. We'll take time to Consider of it.

Conf. And of your *Petition* too, I beseech ye. Go to ; I dare swear, there's Neither of ye will Dye at Stake for't.

Scrup. But still I'm where I was, as to the Favouring of Tender Consciences.

Conf. And truly so am I ; where it is possible to Separate the *Error*, from the *Person* : but to permit a *Public* Inconvenience for the Satisfaction of a *Private* Scruple, were (upon very weak pretence) to *Unhinge the Law*, and Consequently to *Dissolve the Government*.

Det ille veniam facile, cui venia est opus.

Sen. Agamem.

The E N D.

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